



Exploring the Organisation of Social Injustice in Australian Social Work Education

Submitted by

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The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human experimentation and the guidelines of the Ethics Committees of the University.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

The following list represents my published book chapters and journal articles, or those I made identifiable and significant contribution to, that are referenced throughout this thesis document to support my points on the conceptualisations of discriminatory practices, and ruling relations from my investigation.

Book chapters

Hosken, N. (2016). Social work, Class and the Structural Violence of Poverty. In Pease, B., Goldingay, S., Hosken, N & Nipperess, S. (Eds.), *Doing Critical Social Work: Transformative Practices for Social Justice*, Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 104-119.

Hosken, N., Ervin, L., & Laughton, J. (2016). Critical Approach to Practice Standards in Student Field Practice. In Pease, B., Goldingay, S., Hosken, N., & Nipperess, S. (Eds.) *Doing Critical Social Work: Transformative Practices for Social Justice*, Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 176-191.

Hosken, N., & Goldingay, S. (2016). Making Sense of Different Theoretically Informed Approaches in Doing Critical Social Work. In Pease, B., Goldingay, S., Hosken, N., & Nipperess, S. (Eds.), *Doing Critical Social Work: Transformative Practices for Social Justice*, Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 52-69.

Hosken, N. (2012), Developing an Ethical Frameworks for Cross-Cultural Research. In T. McKenna, J., White & M., Vicars (Eds.), *Discourse, Power and Resistance-Down Under: Volume 1*, Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense, 27-40.

Journal Articles:

Hosken, N. (2013). Social Work Supervision and Discrimination. *Advances in Social Work and Welfare Education*, 15(1), 91-103.

Hosken, N. (2010). Social Work and Welfare Education Without Discrimination. Are We There Yet? *Practice Reflexions*, 5(1), 3-16.

Non-refereed publications

Hosken, N., Land, C., Goldingay, S., Barnes, P. & Murphy, K. (2013). Submission to the House of Representatives Inquiry into the Role of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) System and its Operation. *Deakin Social Work/Gordon TAFE Community Work Project*, Geelong.

ABSTRACT

Australian and international professional codes of ethics ostensibly require the work of social workers be underpinned by principles of social justice and include actions to reduce injustice. However, many social workers in western countries experience the goals of social justice or reducing injustice, and choice of approaches for their achievement, as nebulous or aspirational.

This five-year study of Australian social work education in the public university setting draws on and develops Dorothy E. Smith's (2005) feminist sociological method of institutional ethnography. This enabled understanding of how the everyday work of social work students and academics in the Australian context are shaped within organisational, institutional and larger translocal relations and processes such as neoliberalism, whiteness, colonialism and patriarchies.

The thesis is based on qualitative empirical research. The location and analysis of the study includes two key related organisations, public universities and the professional association representing social work, the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW). The data, consisting of interviews, a research journal and texts are the result of five-years of fieldwork. Drawing on these, the thesis explores how social injustice occurs through systems of privilege and oppression. These systems are inter-connected by layerings of discourses, ideologies, texts and ruling relations, mediated through standardised notions of quality assurance and accreditation practices to produce the ideological codes, the standardised ideal images, of the 'good social work student', the 'good social work lecturer', the 'good social work professor' and the 'good social worker'.

The thesis reveals the racialised, gendered and classed social organisation of social justice, equity and diversity, professionalism, excellence, competition and merit as constructed around university intentions of becoming world-class, and AASW goals of being a credible profession. The thesis highlights how the ability to activate or approximate the ideological codes relies on doing race, class and gender. It shows how doing particular forms

and constellations of white-Euro, middle-classed, professional, transnational, enterprise, corporate masculinity enters the social relations of doing the work of a social work student or social work academic in Australia.

The thesis demonstrates that the adoption of policies, quality assurance and accreditation regimes, and practices by the university and the AASW to align with the neoliberal, white, colonial and patriarchal economic and cultural framing of education and social work serve to instrumentalise social work, social work education and social justice.

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PRELUDE: INFORMANT LIVES BEFORE UNIVERSITIES

There are three people and relationships that ground and orient the investigation in this study. Denalh Hopeng (pseudonym), Richard Smith (pseudonym) and Audre Ryde (pseudonym) are the three key informants from whose standpoints the exploration in this study commences. Data collection and analysis in institutional ethnography commences from the standpoints of those affected by issues to find out how their everyday lives are connected to larger social relations. These include the local and transnational political, economic and social relations. The aim of the exploration is to locate how social injustice occurs. This is done through an examination of the work of the informants and how relations of race, gender and class inhere in them, and in the educational organisations where they study and work. As this institutional ethnographic study commences from the material events of people's lives, the thesis begins with introducing the informants.

INTRODUCING THE THREE KEY INFORMANTS

Denalh Hopeng

In 1984, as a young girl, I had to leave my own country, South Sudan, with my family, fleeing war, bombs and guns. We eventually walked far enough to end up in Khartoum in North Sudan. Girls did not have the same opportunity, even when schooling was possible and available, to go to school as boys. I had to move across my own South Sudanese language Dinka, an extra South Sudanese language, Nuer and the enforced official language, Arabic. When we fled to North Sudan, I was not given good grades, because as a South Sudanese child I could never be given better marks than the lighter skinned Arab children of the North. I was good at school, but in my culture, girls were told to leave early. I married a man I loved. It was my escape. I would not get to go to school again until many years later when, with my husband and my own children, we were accepted to Australia as refugees. When I arrived in Australia, I had no English, an interrupted primary and secondary education in South and then North Sudan, oral and written skills in Arabic, oral skills in Dinka and Nuer. When I started at TAFE in Australia, I was trying to learn and convert the English first into

Arabic (which I could write) and then back into my own language, Dinka. As Arabic is written right to left, opposite to English, there were so many challenges. When I went to the English as a second language (ESL) class at the local TAFE, at first I wondered if I was in the right place, because English was my fourth language. I could not ask male teachers for help, as we were not allowed to talk directly to men we did not know.

Audre Ryde

I am a white-Euro woman, from Western Australia, who lives and works on the lands of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. I left my state school in year 11 and went to work as a junior clerk. Later, I attended a Technical and Further Education (TAFE) college to complete my secondary education and gained entry to the University of Western Australia (UWA) to study social work. I felt out of place at UWA, so transferred to the Western Australian Institute of Technology (WAIT), seeking a better fit. I hoped that WAIT would be more practical, and that I might meet people more like me. I stopped working in bars and started working in women's refuges during my last years of social work studies at WAIT, gaining a full-time job at a women's refuge when I graduated. After working for twenty years in direct service, I started teaching in the welfare course at a TAFE and studied part-time to complete my Master of Social Work. Some of the TAFE students I taught went on to do the social work degree at the local university. After some years, I followed them, securing a job as a social work lecturer/field education coordinator, and commenced my PhD. I shared the nervousness described by many of the TAFE graduates, turning up for my first day of work at the university. I was intimidated; relieved when one of the TAFE graduates showed me how to use the new university library system.

Richard Smith

I was born in 1949 and grew up in a working-class family in inner Sydney. My father was a semi-skilled wood machinist who worked in timber yards all his working life. My mother was a housewife. When I turned 14, I did as expected, and left school to work with my father in the timber yard. Some weekends, I would travel on the bus from my home in Leichardt into Sydney CBD. There was a bus stop on Parramatta Road and across the road were the gates to the University of Sydney. I used to see these gates as the entre to another world that was

beyond my experience. I never thought of getting off the bus and venturing to the gates to see what was on the other side. You would have to climb up steps to an archway. I couldn't imagine what was on the other side. Many years later, I remember visiting the University of Sydney for the first time, climbing those steps, and remembering back to those years to when I was sitting on the bus looking at them ...When I first went to university, I had this deeply embedded class-based inferiority complex. Who did I think that I was kidding that I could go to University? What silly idea did I have, that I would be smart or good enough? I told myself the only way I can survive this course is if I do three times as much as anybody else, to keep up, because I am not clever enough. I became a ferocious reader to compensate.

CONCLUSION

The standpoints and experiences of these three individuals provide the entry points in this research from which connections are traced to the texts that organise their study and work in a social work course at a university. The design of this study specifically seeks the knowledge provided from the contrasting social locations and differing vantage points of the three informants within the university and social work education about how their study and work happens. This study uses Smith's (2005) and Joey Sprague's (2005, p.52) reading of standpoint theory as that 'which builds strategically on contrasting social locations' to explore the implications of both material realities and 'fluidities'.

The next chapter introduces the context of and background to the study, and provides an overview of the research. It focuses on providing a brief explanation of the organisational and institutional contexts of social work education and orienting interpretations of some key concepts used in this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE: SOCIAL INJUSTICE IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Despite stated commitments to social justice and equity, inequalities persist in the social work profession and in social work education in Australia. Race, gender and class disparities, among others, continue notwithstanding stated commitments and policies in professional social work and higher education aimed at addressing these concerns. While recognising the importance of all social divisions, limitations of time and resources restricted the focus in this study to the examination of three inter-related forms of oppression and privilege: race; gender; and, class. I suggest that neither the individualist nor structuralist theorisation used in most existing studies has adequately explained the systemic nature of inequalities in Australian social work education, nor the processes and practices that recreate and maintain these inequalities.

This chapter introduces the context of and background to the study, and provides an overview of the research. First, I share three vignettes that locate me as a feminist researcher, and describe my development of seeing discriminatory practices. These are some of the experiences that formed my interest in researching how social injustice and discrimination happens. A brief explanation of the organisational and institutional contexts of social work education is then presented. This is followed by orienting interpretations of some key concepts used in this thesis; intersectionality, race, ethnicity, gender, class, organisational inequality regimes and work. These explanations are intended to assist the reader in making sense of the research purpose and questions. An overview of the research design is then provided, outlining the problematic and purpose of the study, the questions the inquiry investigates and the significance of the study. I conclude by providing an overview of the organisation of the thesis into chapters.

Learning to see discriminatory practices

In 2013, Audre drew from reflections to write three vignettes about her past work in women's refuges and community legal centres, that appear below. These vignettes aim to

explain the development of her awareness regarding how policies and practices that seem fair on the surface can, in fact, be discriminatory, in both privileging and oppressing certain groups of people (Pease, 2010). As a person from the dominant white cultural group in Australia, who had completed a social work course and placements, Audre describes having some awareness of systemic racism. However, she had not begun to see her own racism. Audre states she not did have the language to describe it as such at the time, but now utilise these vignettes as examples of discriminatory practices, a term used throughout this thesis. The vignettes focus on the intersection of three types of discriminatory practices that privilege and oppress; racialised, gendered and classed practices:

Audre: One-The story of seeing a gendered, classed and racialised woman

During my studies, and after graduating from the less elite social work course and university in 1984, I worked several years in the women's refuge sector in Western Australia. There were few social workers working in women's refuges. Not seen as 'real' social work, the women's sector was not part of mainstream social work networks such as the AASW. Further, the women's refuge sector had a philosophical and practical distrust of the perceived elitism of social workers. The focus and concern of social work with professional, expert status ran counter to the orienting principles of women's refuges being 'ordinary women helping ordinary women'. As a woman from interrupted state school and TAFE education, exposed to sexual harassment and sexual assault in work in offices and bars, and of modest financial means, I often felt doubt about my own knowledge and abilities. I did not feel the certainty, ability or entitlement, I thought was necessary, to provide counselling type roles. In this way, I understood my gendered, classed background and experiences fitted with the ethos of the women's refuge sector. I did not see myself, except for chance, as being significantly different from the other refuge workers from a variety of backgrounds, or from the women subjected to men's violence staying in women's refuges.

When I started working in women's refuges, I was not aware that I had white cultural practices. As refuge workers, we helped women and children secure housing

when they were ready to leave the refuge, and would visit to help with settling into their new residences. After returning from one of these follow-up visits to the dilapidated state housing commission high rise flats, my Aboriginal co-worker, in an exasperated and sad voice said, 'Audre, you need to do something about your people; it is just not right that you leave each other all alone'. I did not initially comprehend who 'my people' were. I remember thinking that perhaps my Aboriginal co-worker thought I was leaving my mother alone too much. It then occurred to me that my co-worker was referring to 'my people' as the white-Euro Australian women and children in the flats, and that, to my co-worker this was my racial/ethnic group and, therefore, my responsibility.

I had emerged from a social work degree without realising that I was a member of a racial/ethnic group in Australia that was dominant, and whose cultural values and practices regarding family might have some systemic deficiencies. I had been previously aware of my own gendered class experiences, and discrimination, but had not connected this, for myself as a white woman, as also intersecting with my racial/ethnic group. In seeing that as a white raced person I had cultural practices, I could then see the ideology and practice of whiteness as providing systemic privilege to whites at the same time as it caused harm to non-white peoples and groups. I could see more clearly how my white race intersected with my gender and class locations, to create a difference of privilege, even if I did not actively seek this advantage or recognise when it was afforded. This enabled me to see the systemic elevating of the white-Euro settler patriarchal nuclear family in Australia as the only, overtly or subtly, benchmark for the 'norm' or best, model for family life to be embedded in every institution and practice that we, as refuge workers and residents, encountered and advocated against.

Audre: Two- The story of seeing gendered, racialised and classed practices

After realising that I belonged to a racial/ethnic group that was dominant in Australia whose own customs, and ways of doing things were privileged and normalised, I was a little more aware of the impact of my own ingrained understandings on people

who were culturally different to me. The women's refuges in which I worked in city and remote areas had between 20 to 50% usage by Aboriginal women, 10 to 20% usage by minority cultural background women, and the remainder by women and children of white-Euro backgrounds. Nearly all the women who came to stay in the refuges I worked in had left family situations where there were very low incomes. Some women who were from wealthy backgrounds telephoned Women's Information Referral Exchange (WIRE) or other help lines for support and information, but did not generally come to stay. The women from Aboriginal and minority culture Australian backgrounds usually had more children than the white-Euro Australian women, and waited much longer for state housing as a result.

It took me a while to comprehend that the design, stock and allocation of housing was predicated on the white-Euro family structure and ideology that valorised and normalised a nuclear family with two or three children. There were hardly any four or more bedroom dwellings, and state housing policy and practice did not allow Aboriginal and minority culture background women to choose to be 'under-housed' in dwellings with fewer bedrooms than the authorities deemed appropriate. The women from Aboriginal and minority culture backgrounds and their children waited, watched and despaired as the white women and their children moved out of the refuge, and they were left behind. From the everyday experience of witnessing despair, I saw and understood the construction and allocation of public housing as a discriminatory practice in action. I did not have the language to describe it then, but now consider this a racialised practise as the Indigenous and minority culture background women and children were more adversely affected than the white-Euro Australian women and children in the same situation. This is consistent with the United Nations and the Australian Human Rights Commission (then called HREOC) view that practices can be gendered, racialised and classed and therefore sexist, racist and classist with, or without, intent being present on behalf of those designing them to be so (HREOC, 2000). The measure is premised on these practices having 'an unequal effect on the rights and freedoms of the individual or group involved' (HREOC, 2000). Intent may not be actively present because institutions and work processes were, and are, usually constructed to reflect the tensions of

intersecting cultural, economic and political beliefs and practices of those groups of people of specific genders, racial/ethnicities, classes, abilities, sexual orientations and geographic locations who dominate.

Audre: Three- The story of how discriminatory practices inhere and intersect

In 1987, employed in a community legal centre, I was working with a homeless, single, older Aboriginal man with significant health problems who said he needed a stable income, housing and health care. At our first meeting, I mentally estimated his age to be about 70, and was surprised to find out he was aged 51. For many reasons, he could not live with family or kin in his community. He did not meet the eligibility criteria for the commonwealth government aged pension or a 'pensioner flat' as he was not 65 years of age. I calculated that this required age limit of 65 years for pensions and housing was predicated on an eight-year gap to the 'average' life expectancy for white-Euro Australians, which for males in 1987 was about 73 years, contrasted with Indigenous Australian males at about 57 years (Phillips, Morrell, Taylor, & Daniels, 2014). Applying this rationale and evidence, I calculated the man with a life expectancy of 57 years, should have been eligible for the age pension, and a pensioner flat, at 49 years of age. The state housing commission and social security did not accept this argument on application or at review and appeal. This man died at 52 years of age, not long after one of the unsuccessful reviews by the state housing commission. He was a person originally from a poor, rural community, where the life expectancy was not even the 'average' for Indigenous Australians. He was never surprised at this normalisation of whiteness. However, this was a vivid, painful and enduring memory of realisation for me as a young, social worker of the discriminatory impact of the racialised, classed and intersecting nature of Australian housing and income security policy.

Racialised, classed and gendered practices, such as those described in the vignettes above, are types of discriminatory practices within the relations and processes of oppression and privilege. White-Euro Australian social work academic, Bob Pease (2010, p. 12), draws on Harvey's term 'civilised oppression' to convey how privilege and oppression

are 'normalised in everyday life...embedded in cultural norms and bureaucratic institutions, [where] many of these practices are habituated and unconscious'. I agree with Pease, and hope the documentation in this thesis of where and how privilege and oppression occurs in social work education will make these relations and processes more visible, increasing the capacity of those who seek to change them.

Pease (2010, p.8) warns that to only focus on discrimination and oppression reinforces the 'invisibility of privilege' and overlooks the relationship between systems of domination that rely on 'the oppression of one group to generate privilege for another'. Privilege is understood in this thesis as the unearned provision of access to advantages experienced by some to their benefit, but usually at the expense of others (Pease, 2010; Collins & Barnes, 2014).

In my own role as a social work academic (then with responsibility for field education), I observed that social work students were differently positioned in terms of obstacles associated with undertaking their two compulsory, lengthy, unpaid student placements. There were additional pressures on social work students from minority culture backgrounds, those students subject to low incomes, providing caring roles, and/or with disability. These pressures included securing and maintaining placements in the host human service organisations, predominately managed and staffed with white-Euro Australian, able-bodied, salaried, background peoples (Hosken, Ervin, & Laughton, 2016). I also witnessed the impact and seeming interactions of race, gender and class backgrounds and caring responsibilities on myself, welfare and social work students and staff as we worked and studied in TAFE and the university. I was, therefore, interested to research if, where and how racialised, classed and gendered practices (as particular relations and processes of oppression and privilege) actually happen in people and organisations.

Investigating where and how the study, teaching, research, practice and regulation of social work might occur within racialised, gendered and classed social relations (produced locally whilst shaped within larger translocal relations), is the gap this thesis responds to. Translocal relations connect and influence different sites, localities and people at the same time (Smith, 2005). Social relations refer to the organisation of sequences of activities that

shape people's actions and connect them to the actions of people located elsewhere that serve to constitute institutions and structures (Bisaillon, 2012a; Lund, 2015).

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE CONTEXT OF AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Hughes & Wearing (2016) argue that the everyday lives of social work students and social work educators are intricately connected to organisations and institutions. Higher education and welfare are the two key institutional contexts that influence social work education. Both the higher education and welfare sectors have experienced unprecedented change over the past few decades. The professional association representing social work in Australia, the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW), and universities, where the education of social workers occurs, are the two main organisations involved in the education of social workers. These institutional contexts and organisations are investigated in this research project.

I draw on the work of Aruna Rao and David Kelleher (2003) to understand institutions as 'the rules for achieving social or economic ends' (2003, p.142) and organisations as 'the sites where institutional rules are played out' (2003, p.143). Institutions are 'complexes embedded in the ruling relations that are organised around a distinctive function such as education or health care' (Smith, 2005, p.225) that involve 'processes that stretch across time and place to coordinate people's activities' (Bisaillon 2012a, p.614). Institutional rules, stated or implicit, are reported to include those that privilege some groups while maintaining other groups of people in subjugated positions (Rao and Kelleher, 2003). Rao and Kelleher (2003, p.143) draw attention to the dynamic, universal and localised aspects of institutions:

Although institutions vary within and across cultures, and are constantly evolving and changing, they are embedded in relational hierarchies of gender, class, caste, and other critical fault lines, which define identities and distribute power – both symbolically and materially.

Scholars such as Eva Petersen and Bronwyn Davies (2010, p.92) observe that it has been nearly 30 years since 'governments globally have used neoliberal principles to fund, monitor

and control universities'. Governments and their funding, monitoring and controlling powers and functions form part of the institutional contexts of higher education and welfare. The welfare institutional context affects social work education in several ways. Most social workers in Australia are employed in organisations that are either part of the government sector, or that receive the majority of their funding from government (Healy & Lonne, 2010; Gray, 2011). The role of many social workers changed as Australian political parties moved welfare policies from (at least the rhetoric of) an ideology of rights and entitlements to responsibilities and obligations (Gray, 2011). The denigration of rights and entitlements was evident as the language and ideology constructed a problem of dependency and 'passive' welfare needing to be remedied by 'active' welfare. Active welfare introduced responsibilities through 'mutual obligation' or welfare-to-work (Gray, 2011). In this managerial, outputs-focused human services climate, the professional autonomy and judgment (professional agency) of social workers was eroded. Social workers were increasingly pressured and enticed to construct social work service users' problems as attributable to personal inadequacies (Gray, 2011).

Neoliberal ideology underpinned the outcomes-based New Public Management (NPM) approach (Gray, 2011) used in political and government bodies through the tool of privatisation to shift many welfare functions and services to the non-government and charity sectors in Australia. However, governments are said to retain major ideological and material control through funding and accountability regimes, creating a climate of non-government marketisation and competition that rhetorically positions social work agencies as businesses, social workers as case managers and service users as consumers or customers (Gray, 2011). As human service organisations become marketised, they as employers, are stakeholders that can exert pressure on the AASW and other bodies to influence the nature of the regulation and accreditation requirements of social work courses to deliver the future 'workers' they perceive as fitting current trends.

The majority of social workers are not members of the AASW. The AASW states it reached their target of 10 000 members following a concerted membership drive (AASW, 2015a). This is less than half of the approximately 23 166 professional social workers in Australia (Deloitte, 2016). It would be interesting to know why these social workers do not

choose to join the association. Regardless, the AASW is positioned to represent professional social work in Australia and sets standards for social work education and practice. One aspect of the power of the association lies in eligibility for membership of the AASW being an employment credential, where only students of, or graduates from, AASW accredited social work courses are eligible for membership. Those with qualifications from overseas are also eligible for membership if their qualifications are assessed by the AASW as comparable to an AASW approved social work qualification (AASW, 2017). Another aspect of the power of the association is that the universities that deliver social work courses want to pass the AASW accreditations and re-accreditations. In 2016, 32 of Australia's 43 universities offered degree level qualifications accredited by the AASW (AASW, 2016a). The options for studies are a four-year Bachelor of Social Work or a graduate two-year Masters (Qualifying) subject to pre-requisites. The AASW accredits and reaccredits social work courses in Australia auditing, among other requirements, their compliance with regulations and specified curriculum content including coverage of aspects of social justice contained in AASW documents such as the core curriculum specifications (ASWEAS 2012), the *Code of Ethics* (2010), and the *Practice Standards* (2013a). The impact of this regulatory regime on the social justice and social injustice of social work education is investigated in this study.

SETTLER COLONIALISM

This study investigates social work education as it happens in RU, a composite of an Australian public university. RU is situated on Aboriginal land, but like most other organisations, there is no requirement, or offer, to 'pay the rent' (Attwood & Markus, 1999) to the traditional owners. I am a 55-year-old, white-Euro Australian woman who grew up in city suburbs separated by wealth and race hierarchies, where Aboriginal people lived in the poorer state housing commission areas, the next suburb away. My primary and secondary education provided little information about the actual history of the invasion of Australia by my descendants. As a young white person, I did not know that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were the First Peoples, the first occupants of the Island continent that comprised approximately 750 000 people within 400 different nations. The colonisers re-named this land 'Australia' (Perkins, 2008; Heupink et al., 2016). I was unaware that these

First Peoples had lived in Australia for 50 000 or more years (Bergström et al., 2016).

Beginning awareness of my race privilege did not really commence until my twenties. I have talked and worked with many other white-Euro Australian social workers in Australia over the past thirty years. Most describe comparable experiences to my own ignorance's, and a similar blindness to the relations of white race, white ethnic practices and white racial privilege.

It is now well documented, but often still contested, that Aboriginal peoples across the world have been subject to institutional human rights violations, through colonial rule, often involving genocide and/or cultural genocide (Kallen, 2004; Davis, 2008). As a settler, colonial country there remains a dominant, majority white-Euro settler descendant population in Australia with a minority, 'internally colonised' (Veracini, 2007, para. 14), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population of an estimated 669 900 people, approximately 3% of the total Australian population (ABS, 2013). Settler colonialism is identified as a colonial form 'remarkably resistant to decolonisation' (Veracini, 2007, para. 1). The process and impact of colonialism has long been recognised as invasion by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (for example, Perkins, 2008; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). More recently, several non-indigenous critical scholars and activists in Australia have also acknowledged settlement as invasion (for example, Tatz, 2001; Briskman, 2008; Land, 2012), but this remains contested in non-indigenous, majority Australian political and cultural life (Barker, 2016; Taylor, 2016). There is overwhelming evidence that the impact of colonialism on the First Nation peoples of Australia has been catastrophic (for example, HREOC, 1997; AIHW, 2009; AHRC, 2012). Despite systemic discrimination, there are also countless narratives of ordinary and extraordinary cultural resilience, strength, talent, achievement, generosity, resistance, activism and hope across Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and nations (for example, Grossman, 2003; Perkins, 2008; Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009; AIATSIS, 2012; Land, 2012; Haebich, 2014).

The initial and continuing process of colonialism and imperialism has involved use of economic, military, legal, political and social force and violence (Rowley, 1970; HREOC, 1997; Tatz, 2001; Atkinson, 2002; Perkins, 2008; AHRC, 2012; Bottoms, 2013; Meldrum-Hanna, Fallon, & Worthington, 2016). Writing and rewriting history is a common and tensely

controversial process in most colonised countries (Macintyre & Clark, 2004). This is especially pronounced in Australia where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples did not consent to colonisation, no treaty was established (O'Sullivan, 2014) and significant contestation remains (for example, AHRC, 2016a). The ideologies and practices of colonialism and whiteness are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

A key concern of this current study is to contribute to increasing understanding of how the relations and processes of race, gender and class are implicated in the historical and contemporary construction of Australian social work education. As one method to increase my vision beyond the limitations of my white-Euro settler lens, I have sought to be educated and informed by the individual and collective scholarship of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australian women scholars (sometimes in joint authored works with white women), who have written on social work, colonialism, whiteness and knowledge (for example, Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Gilbert, 2001; Bennett & Zubrzycki, 2003; Martin, 2003; Arbon, 2008a, 2008b; Dudgeon, Wright, Paradies, Garvey, & Walker, 2010; Bennett, Zubrzycki, & Bacon, 2011; Walter, Taylor, & Habibis, 2011; Bennett, 2013; Bennett, Green, Gilbert, & Bessarab, 2013; Bessarab, 2013; Fejo-King, 2013; Green & Baldry, 2013; Walter, et al., 2013; Bennett, 2015; Dudgeon & Walker, 2015; Fejo-King & Poona, 2015; Walter, 2015). Relevant for this research project, is the understanding provided by these scholars of the white-Euro Australian social work profession having developed from the process of colonisation that involved[s] 'denial of Indigenous sovereignty' (Moreton-Robinson, 2005), 'epistemic imperialism' (Braidotti 1994 cited in Bell, 2012 p.413) and 'patriarchal white epistemic violence' (Moreton-Robinson, 2011, p.413). It is argued that overt and covert epistemic imperialism, drawn from a traditional positivist science, was and remains based on a hegemonic modernist western masculinist perspective, including whiteness, phallocentrism and anthropocentrism (Moreton-Robinson, 2004a; Bell, 2012; Boetto, 2017). White-Euro Australian social work academic, Karen Bell (2012, p.416) argues this relies on a 'linear, individualised conventional ontology ...[involving]... the Cartesian erasure of corporeality'. Aboriginal scholar, Veronica Arbon (2008b) points out that enduring features of western philosophies remain based on 'separation and dominance' (p.138) in a 'hierarchical view' that 'places [western] humans at the top of chain' (p.139) to dominate nature. In addition to the use of physical violence in the invasion of Australia, the epistemic

brutality of colonisation is realised when this description of the western ontological and knowledge framework is contrasted with Indigenous knowledge systems, as outlined below by Aboriginal scholars, Aileen Moreton-Robinson and Maggie Walter (2009, p.97):

Indigenous peoples have developed their knowledge systems over millennia living on and alongside the land. Indigenous peoples' knowledges are therefore predicated on societal relations with country. Thus, knowledge is experiential, holistic and evolving, and Indigenous knowledge systems are an integral part of living in the world. Epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies are interwoven into this knowledge system.

I have drawn on the works of scholars in this section to connect the processes of colonialism and imperialism with contemporary understandings of what knowledge underpins the social work profession and social work education in Australia. These writers, and others (for example, Ife, 1997; Briskman & Noble, 1999; Pease, 2009; Baltra-Ulloa, 2013), have explored the inadequacies and harms of the conventional western paradigms that are said to underpin social work. This contextualises one of the goals of this study; to investigate where and how different knowledges are present or absent, and valued or devalued, within the ruling relations of the AASW and RU.

INTRODUCING KEY CONCEPTS

This study attempts to investigate and redress some of the issues captured by white, Jewish American feminist poet, Adrienne Rich, in the following quote.

When those who have power to name and to socially construct reality choose not to see you or hear you, whether you are dark-skinned, old, disabled, female, or speak with a different accent or dialect than theirs, when someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing (Rich, 1986, p.199).

Race, ethnicity, gender and class are words used in social work and education literature and pedagogy, often without authors or speakers clarifying their intentions of meaning. My

understanding of these terms has changed as I learned more with the informants in this study, which fostered my engagement with an increasingly diverse range of literature. Participants in institutional ethnographies are referred to as informants because they are considered the experts in describing what is happening to them in their work and lives (Wright & Rocco, 2016). I do not offer the interpretations of meaning I have adopted in this study as being definitive. In addition to colonialism as introduced above, in the next section I provide some orienting interpretation of key concepts, further explored with the data and analysis in the relevant chapters.

Intersectionality

In this study, I draw on intersectionality (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991; Brah & Phoenix, 2004) to investigate the mutual reproduction of race, ethnicity, gender and class as inter-related structures and social relations. I focus on how the social relations of privilege and oppression (Pease, 2010) occur in people, in organisations such as the AASW and RU, and in institutions such as education and welfare. The following definition provided of welfare as an institution could easily also refer to education, defined as ‘a set of norms and expectations regulating the interaction of social actors-groups, agencies, individuals-in the promotion of ‘welfare’ [education]’ (McDonald, 2006a, p.28). It is the development of intersectionality theory and practice by black and minority ethnic scholars based in England, Avtar Brah and Ann Phoenix (2004), that underpins this study. These scholars emphasise the process by which differentiation occurs, including acknowledgement of the process of relationship between subjective experience and social relations, between historical context and experiential effects of differentiation (Levine-Rasky, 2016). This contrasts with some intersectional scholars who have concentrated on identities (for example, Nash, 2008). Brah and Phoenix (2004, p.76) suggest intersectionality refers to:

the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axis of differentiation – economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential – intersect in historically specific contexts. The concept emphasizes that different dimensions of social life cannot be separated out into discrete and pure strands.

From an institutional ethnographic orientation, this approach to intersectionality requires looking at how the local, practical work of people in specific organisations is actually organised in material and discursive ways to happen in the ways it does to reproduce material and discursive inequalities. Inequalities are related to social divisions, understood here as being socially constructed differentiations of some groups of people from others in ways that 'confer unequal opportunities of access to desirable resources of all kinds' (Payne, 2000, p.243). Social divisions are 'long lasting and sustained by dominant cultural beliefs, the organisation of social institutions and the situational interaction of individuals' (Payne, 2000, p.242). I acknowledge the importance of all social divisions such as those based on relations of race/ethnicity, gender, class, dis/ability, sexuality, age, nationality, transnationality and geographic location (Anthias, 2013). I am also informed by personal and work experiences, and the work of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and intersectional scholars, to understand that social divisions may operate in ways that are mutually reinforcing or contradictory (for example, Moreton-Robinson, 2003; Anthias, 2013).

In a social work context, white, Canadian critical social work scholar, currently based in Australia, Donna Baines (2001; 2003), has taken this intersectional approach in her work studying the processes of social divisions as they occur in the 'everyday practices' of people, organisations and institutions. Limitations of time and resources restricted particular attention in this study to examination of three forms of oppression and privilege, the relations of race/ethnicity, gender and class. Despite this intention, which did remain the major focus of this study, the narratives and texts also revealed social relations and divisions based on ability, sexuality and age. The informants' lived experiences, and subsequent analysis of the texts that organised their work to happen in the ways they did, would not conform to the intended limitations of my research.

The intersectional approach as used in the current study is concerned with examining how social relations including those of race, class and gender might combine in particular ways in the 'inequality regimes' (Acker, 2006) of the two focus organisations, the AASW and the RU. In the following sections, I provide some orienting understandings of how these terms are used in this study.

There is general agreement in the social science community that group-level inequalities between different populations are socially constructed and not the result of innate differences of superiority/inferiority (Kallen, 2004). Over time, it is said that more powerful populations, 'define and invalidate others on the basis of perceived group differences in order to protect their own vested interests' (Kallen, 2004, p.32). Race is a term that refers to 'socially defined differences based on physical characteristics, culture, and historical domination and oppression, justified by entrenched beliefs' (Acker, 2006b, p.445). As race is socially constructed, it's meaning changes over time and across locations. I agree with Pease (2010, p.108), who states that as perceived 'racial differences continue to be used to rationalise and legitimate unequal treatment, it constitutes a material force that shapes people's lives. It is important to continue to use the concept of race in analysing racism and white privilege'. In terms of ethnicity, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016, online) adopts an understanding of ethnicity based on the 'self-perceived identification approach' where the 'group regards itself and is regarded by others as a distinct community by virtue of certain characteristics, not all of which have to be present in the case of each ethnic group'. These characteristics include: 'a long shared history, the memory of which is kept alive; a cultural tradition, including family and social customs, sometimes religiously based; a common geographic origin; a common language (but not necessarily limited to that group); a common literature (written or oral); a common religion; being a minority (often with a sense of being oppressed); and being racially conspicuous' (ABS, 2016, online).

My experience teaching welfare and social work students over the past decade is that white-Euro students have significant difficulty identifying their race and ethnic practices, as compared to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, and minority cultural background students. This appears reflective of the broader historical context of white people in Australia being encouraged to only see 'others' as having a racial or ethnic identity and associated cultural practices and them[our]selves as just being 'normal'. The implications for social work education of an embedded positioning of white race as 'normal' and cultureless is investigated in this study.

Class and classism

In exploring how relations of class are always shaped by gender and race, I follow white American sociologist, Joan Acker's (2006a), approach. Broadening the focus on waged labour in the Marxist definition of the economy, Acker (2006a, p.170) provides a gendered theory of class expanded to consist of 'the practices and relations that provide differential control over and access to the means of provisioning' and survival. Classism is understood to be the entrenched oppression of those who must sell their waged labour (or be prepared to do so, as are people subject to unemployment) to survive, and those who care for them, by those who have control over the means of production (Acker, 2006a). I suggest Acker's (2006a) understanding of the economy (that brings in the personal relations and labour performed, mainly by women, in the home or community) and class (as always based on gender and race) is relevant for this study. An analysis of power based on Acker's (2006a, p. 68) understanding of 'class as relations always in process' is consistent with the approach to intersectionality taken in this thesis and the sociological methodology of institutional ethnography, to address both the structural relations of inequality and domination that underpins subordination while allowing for the emancipatory potential of agency by people within the making of class.

In relational perspectives, such as Acker's (2006a), classes are delineated by 'mutually antagonistic self-interest, that is, the material welfare of one group depends causally on the material deprivations of another' (Prins et al., 2015). Drawing on the work of Wright (1997), Prins et al. (2015, p.1354) explains the relational perspective of class where:

social position is not simply a function of the inherited or achieved attributes of individuals but arises from the processes by which certain groups control productive resources by (i) excluding other groups from access to those resources and controlling their labour activities (domination), and by (ii) appropriating the fruits of that labour (exploitation).

Gender

Critical feminist perspectives understand gender, femininities and masculinities as primarily

‘socially constructed differences between men and women and the beliefs and identities that support difference and inequality’ (Acker, 2006b, p.444). This approach to gender is developed further by white, American, feminist sociologist, Myra Marx Ferree (2010, p.424) who ‘rejects gender as a static norm or ideal (the so-called gender-role)’. Ferree’s (2010) explicit recognition that feminist’s more critical approach to gender needs to recognise the inter-relationship between the social relations of gender at individual, organisational, institutional and societal levels is particularly useful in my study. I use this intersectional and multi-level approach to understand and explore the relations, and inter-relationships, of social divisions with a focus on race/ethnicity, gender and class. Ferree’s definition of gender has guided interrogation of the literature and data in this thesis. Gender is understood as ‘a social relation characterized by power inequalities that hierarchically produce, organize, and evaluate masculinities and femininities through the contested but controlling practices of individuals, organizations, and societies’ (Ferree, 2010, p.424).

There is a substantial literature that has shown that men and women are differently positioned in terms of being able to be academics and social workers, with women less represented at senior or managerial ranks. For example, Briony Lipton (2015) reports that while women comprise forty-four per cent of academic staff in Australia, they represent only 28 percent of staff above senior lecturer level and only 25 per cent of university vice-chancellors. In respect of social work, a trend in western social work is reported where ‘gender inequity with regard to salary and leadership opportunity ...is widespread...and gender-based salary disparities and glass ceilings persist’ (Malinge, Starks & Tarter, 2017, p. 81). One of the few Australian studies of the social work academic workforce reported that in 2005 women comprised 76% of the social work academic population, yet men were disproportionately represented in senior positions (Agbim & Ozanne, 2007).

In her thesis, Rebecca Lund (2015, pp.8-11) provides a useful account of three main approaches and theories used to study gender inequality in universities, from which I summarise and adapt here. One approach for understanding women’s lack representation at senior levels in Australian social work education and the social work sector refers to supposed biological and psychological based sex differences and gendered socialisation where women ‘choose’ to orient themselves to family and not career. This approach does

not easily explain the systemic nature of inequality, and why women who may choose career remain unfavourably positioned. The second approach explains inequality between men and women in university and social work being caused by the interaction of sex differences and socialisation with policies and practices that favour men (such as the negative impacts on careers of women who work part-time, who take breaks from work to care for children, or who cannot attend the after-work networking associated with career advancement due to caring responsibilities). This approach does not easily allow understanding of why gender inequality persists when changes are made to these policies. A third approach has been to focus on discursive processes and practices at the micro-level of work and organisations. This approach does not provide ways to understand the translocal and systemic nature of gender, race and class inequalities. In this thesis, the use of institutional ethnography responds to some of these shortcomings identified in these other approaches to studying work in organisations. The work of informants is understood as racialised, gendered and classed relations, produced in organisations and in turn shaped within larger translocal processes.

Organisational inequality regimes

I have found Acker's (2006b, p.443) concept of 'organisational inequality regimes' relevant to this study's focus on mapping how the work and experiences of informants regarding social injustice is organised through the textual coordination of organisations, including the AASW and RU. Acker (2006b, p.443) suggests that 'all organisations have inequality regimes, defined as loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender, and racial inequalities within particular organisations'.

Race, class and gender are understood as ongoing, intersecting, dynamic interactions occurring within organisational inequality regimes, and it is within these relations that I seek to explore the organisation of social injustice. In the next section, I provide an overview of the research as it encompasses these key concepts.

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

Purpose of the research

This study commences from the experiences of three informants to explore the disjunctures between stated commitments to social justice by the social work profession, and to social justice, the public good and equity by the university, and the actual inequalities that persist in social work education and the social work profession. The purpose of this research is to generate a detailed understanding and analysis of how social injustice interacts and inheres in people, social relations and organisations through a focus on the lived experience of three informants. The research questions focus the investigation to explore how/if the study and teaching of social work occurs within racialised, gendered and classed social relations, produced in local/micro processes and in turn shaped within larger translocal/macro processes. While recognising the importance of all social divisions, limitations of time and resources restricted focus in this study to examination of three forms of oppression and privilege. Each of the analysis chapters in this thesis examines how relations of race, gender and class are experienced and intersect, and are produced and reproduced in the education of social workers through textual coordination of everyday practices. This includes exploration of how people are differently positioned within the social relations of injustice in terms of being able to activate the norms of a 'good social work student', a 'good social lecturer', a 'good social work professor, and a 'good social worker', and what this means for the social justice of social work and social work education. The thesis examines how social injustice occurs through systems of privilege and oppression inter-connected by layerings of ideologies, texts and ruling relations that coordinate, activate and regulate social relations across local, national, global and cyber locations.

Research questions

The following research questions have been refined, responding to the nature of the project, and the data, as it unfolded:

1. Where and how are the relations of oppression and privilege present in the university and regulating professional body?
 - a. What is the work of the informants?

- b. What key texts and textual representations organise the work of the informants?
 - c. How/do ruling relations in the university perpetuate adopt, perpetuate and contribute to prevailing norms of the good academic, student and social worker to create a dominant narrative that works to discipline the actions and beliefs of its staff, students and constituents?
 - d. How/ do ruling relations in the AASW adopt, perpetuate and contribute to prevailing norms of the 'good social work student', the 'good social work lecturer', the 'good social work professor' and the 'good social worker' to create a dominant narrative that works to discipline the actions and beliefs of social workers?
2. How are social work student, lecturer and professor informants' experiences of social injustice shaped within race, class and gender as relations of oppression and privilege?
 3. How is the work and social practices of the informants constrained by, accommodating, and challenging, of wider ruling relations?

My analysis aims to make visible the ways in which texts subsume the local and particular with abstract policies and prevailing norms based on ideological ruling relations.

Site, informants, materials, data and process

The site of the study is a number of Australian public universities referred to as the composite pseudonym Reach University (RU), and the three key informants, introduced in the prelude, are from different and similar social locations. Data collection occurred during a five-year period, from 1 August 2011 to 1 December 2016. During this time, the informants provided descriptions of how their work was carried out.

The accounts of these key informants are analysed to identify the texts that organised their work. These texts are examined for any embedded ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses and meta-ideological discourses, and the relationships between these types and levels of discourse and ideology. As the name of the university or universities where this research has been conducted is not revealed to provide

confidentiality, a citation system for the RU policy documents was created. As an example, in PRU1, the P refers to policy, RU refers to the composite pseudonym 'Reach University', the number is the one I allocated to the policy document in the coding system I created. This format is used for all RU policy texts referred to in this thesis. The levels and types of codes, discourses and ideologies are explained in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3. The study investigates if, how and where ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses, and meta-level ideological discourses, are embedded and communicated in key texts to coordinate, activate and regulate the work and study of the key informants in the university, and in the human service organisations that provide placements for social work students.

The AASW and RU coordinate and shape the diverse lives of social work students, social work educators, social work practitioners and social work clients in, often, overlapping and unseen ways. To investigate where and how this happens, I am using the sociological research method of institutional ethnography that links everyday practices, ruling relations, and the social organisation of work and knowledge. Dorothy E. Smith (2005), the pioneer of institutional ethnography, makes the powerful argument that institutional ruling relations attempt to generalise people's everyday lives through texts. Ruling relations are 'textually mediated social relations' demonstrated in the 'connections between the different institutional relations organising and regulating society' (Bisaillon, 2012a, p.618). Exploring how people's lives are gathered into ruling relations, often through 'hidden in plain view' and unproblematised means, may increase the opportunities for people to begin to contest the ways in which organisations and institutions are implicated in their lives. The sociology and methodological approach of institutional ethnography, as applied in this current study, is discussed in Chapter 3.

Significance of the study

This project takes up the challenge posited by African American scholar, Patricia Hill Collins (2009, p.xi), to 'place the social structural and interpretative/ narrative approaches to social reality in dialogue with one another'. This study uses and suggests institutional ethnography as an approach to research, relevant for social work, that 'bridge[s] the tension between structure and agency' (Pease, 2010, p.99). This is a significant addition to the individualist

and structuralist theorisation that has not yet adequately explained the systemic nature of inequality in social work education, nor the processes and practices that create these inequalities. Existing research has not paid sufficient attention to what the multiple vantage points of individuals' unique contexts and experiences of social work education based on relations of race, ethnicity, gender and class can reveal about the larger organisational and institutional practices and processes as privileging for some and discriminatory for others.

The particular contribution of this project is to deepen understanding about how systems of privilege and inequality are organised within a university and a professional association. Understanding more about the ruling relations that organise and govern social work students, social work educators and organisations can link with other ethnographies to develop knowledge in the area of education, social work and social justice, in this way contributing to what Smith (2005, p.219) describes as the 'collective work of institutional ethnography'. The premise is if social workers know more about how social justice and social injustice are constructed in organisations, they will know more about why, how and what to change to effect greater social justice.

Related to the waves of reforms that have affected higher education and social work in Australia were changes in the nature and priority of student and academic work. New ideals of what counts as a 'good social work student', a 'good social work lecturer', a 'good social work professor' and a 'good social worker' contain textually standardising notions of social justice, quality, excellence and professionalism, and shape the experiences of students, academics and workers.

In the next section, I provide an overview of the organisation of this thesis.

ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis consists of eight chapters, which explore the literature on social work and social justice, the university and the public good, discuss the analytical, methodological and ethical framework of the study, analyse the construction of inter-related ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses, and meta-ideological discourses contained in

texts, lay out the implications from the institutional ethnography for social justice, and provide a conclusion.

Chapter 1 provides the context and rationale for the project arguing that social injustice and inequities continue in social work education in the Australian settler colonial context. I suggest the focus of the study on how racialised, gendered and classed inequalities are organised to happen in the ways they do in social work education highlights the relevance of institutional ethnography, whiteness and intersectional theories as analytical lenses to be drawn on in later chapters. I also define key terms used in the remainder of the thesis and provide an overview of the research including the purpose, research questions and significance of the study.

Chapter 2 locates the thesis in a critical discussion of the main debates in the social justice of social work and the equity and public good agendas of the university. The relevant critical organisational, educational, policy and social work literature is used to orient understandings used in this research of what organisations and their institutional contexts are. A review of selected literature is included relating to key research areas investigated in this thesis. This examines the meta-ideological discourses influencing the institutional contexts of higher education and professional social work in Australia that may influence organisational discourses and ideological codes present in organisational texts, policies and practices.

Chapter 3 presents the details of institutional ethnography as the sociology and framing research methodology for this project that also utilises auto-ethnography and mutual ethnography. I discuss these methods, the design of the research process and provide background on the key tools, concepts and definitions of terms central to institutional ethnography used during the research. This chapter provides an analysis of a social work lecturer informant narrative and related key text revealed as important in organising her work, the RU (PRU5a) *Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure*. This provides an illustrative example of the data collection, coding and analysis methods central to institutional ethnography of 'text-reader conversations' and 'inter-textuality' (Smith,

2001). Further analysis of texts using these methods are carried out through Chapters 4-7, the analysis chapters.

Chapters 4-7 comprise the analytical section of this study. Chapter 4 draws from the social work student informant narratives to investigate the construction of the ideological code of the 'good social work student' within organisational, institutional and ideological discourses revealed in examination of one of the key texts that organised the work of the student, the RU (PRU4a) *Special Consideration Policy*. This builds from the analysis in Chapter 3 of the RU (PRU5a) *Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure*, to continue examining the layering of texts that organise and activate ideological codes. In Chapter 5, narratives of the social work lecturer informant are used to locate and analyse texts that organise her work. Analysis of how the AASW (2012) *Australian Social Work Education and Accreditation Standards* (hereafter referred to as the AASW (2012) ASWEAS) and the AASW (2014b) *Strategic Plan* makes people eligible, or not, to participate in activating the ideological code of the 'good social work lecturer' is presented. In Chapter 6, I analyse the construction of the 'good social work professor' from narratives of the informant and analysis of the RU (PRU1a) *Quality Management Policy*. The construction of the 'good social worker' is examined in Chapter 7, among the data, and texts of the university and of the AASW, including the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* and the AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards*. I investigate how people are differently positioned via their statuses associated with relations of race, gender and class to conform to the ideological codes. The analysis presented in Chapters 4-7 locate the organising texts that activate and regulate the work of informants. The chapters include discussions of the inter-textual hierarchy of the texts identified in the work of informants as they are connected to a larger complex where higher order texts, formulated elsewhere, regulate the more specialised texts that enter into the informant's everyday lives and are activated by them (Smith, 2006a).

In Chapter 8 as a conclusion to this thesis, I consider how the various chapters contribute to the research aims in addressing the research questions and premises. I identify contributions made by the research, situating this in terms of the rationale of an institutional ethnographic study. I suggest that the project has contributed to increasing available knowledge for Australian social workers about how social injustice is organised to

happen in the ways it does in organisations. Further, I suggest the project has developed a feminist, decolonising, anti-racist, critical organisational and institutional analysis framework relevant for social work.

CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to argue that despite policies, and the discourses of social justice and equity, the education of social workers within Australian universities is still shaped within, and responding to: racialised, gendered and classed practices; settler colonial histories (Walter, Taylor, & Habibis, 2011); a higher education system stratified according to social divisions (Testa & Egan, 2013); and neoliberal global influences (Blackmore, 2015).

Notwithstanding stated commitments to social justice and equity, inequalities and injustices persist in the 'organisational inequality regimes' (Acker, 2006b, p.443) of the AASW and RU. The chapter also introduced the background to the study, outlining the aims of the research and its importance. Within a context of ongoing debate about social work's relationship to social justice, and universities' relationships to equity and the public good, my study explores senses of disjuncture as experienced by the three informants. The next chapter provides a critique of the institutional contexts of Australian social work education locating the study within key debates regarding social justice and equity.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ORGANISATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS OF AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws from selected literature to locate the current study within a critical examination of contemporary debates regarding the stated social justice and equity agendas of Australian higher education, social work education and the AASW. This literature also provides insight into how to research these areas. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the political orientation of this project is feminist and anti-colonial. Efforts to enact decolonising practices in this study influence the selection of relevant literature in this chapter, and throughout the thesis. Priority is afforded to the relevant works of scholars who are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, minority racial/ethnic settler and immigrant Australians and white-Euro Australians. The works of international scholars, those outside of Australia, are used where their contributions are fundamental to this project. Collaboration with the informants in this research, combined with the process of iterative data analysis, has also influenced what literature has been included.

The chapter begins by explaining how the literature was chosen for review. This is followed by examination of relevant organisational, educational, policy and social work literature to develop the understanding used in this research of what organisations and institutional contexts are. A review of selected literature follows, relating to key research areas investigated in this thesis. I explore what is known, mainly drawing from the critical literature, about:

- (1) The organisational and institutional contexts of higher education and social work education in Australia, and how to research them.
- (2) The meta-ideological discourses influencing the institutional contexts of higher education and professional social work in Australia.
- (3) The nature of organisational, institutional discourses and ideological codes that may be present in the texts, organisational policies and practices of RU and the AASW.

- (4) The nature of the relations of privilege and oppression that may be present in the institutional and organisational contexts and social relations of the RU and the AASW.
- (5) The nature of the ruling relations that may affect the work of social work students and social work academics in Australia.

The following section explains how the literature review for this study is feminist.

A FEMINIST LITERATURE REVIEW

The standard approach to a review of the literature, taught to me in a university provided training session for PhD students, appeared apolitical, and presented as a 'sanitised exercise that can be strictly classified, with no loose ends' (Wickramasinghe, 2009, p.112). The standard literature review 'template' I was introduced to in the research training seemed to invite an 'objective' recount of the strengths and weaknesses of selected studies that were reviewed for the purposes in question. In contrast, I adopt a feminist method of literature review in this chapter that situates the review itself as needing to be consistent with the overall methodology and methods of the research project and process. In agreement with Maithree Wickramasinghe (2009b, p.112), I acknowledge this review of the literature as 'a distinctly epistemic project ... a subjective process of knowledge production and meaning-making ... reliant on the researcher's subjectivity and standpoint'.

A particular method within the feminist review style that I use in this literature search and review was 'connected knowing' that values the integration of life experience and knowledge with academic knowledge (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011, p.677). The literature review was ongoing as it started from, and responded to my own, and informants', lived experiences. I used the iterative, cyclic and dynamic process associated with a feminist research project where theory and conceptualisation of the project is revisited regularly in a dialogic relationship as more is learned from fieldwork informed by informant and researcher experiences and knowledges (Ackerly & True, 2010, pp.42 & 79). Therefore, the literature review was not commenced and completed at a set time before collection of data by a person with a 'blank slate' approach to the issues under investigation. Rather, I brought my concerns; partial understandings; some prior reviews of literature that were interrogated against life experiences from previous related endeavours as a woman,

and as a worker in the women's and community legal sectors, community worker, educator, and social worker; with myself into this project. There were repeated cycles where I considered how the literature conveyed knowledge about the issues of concern to this study alongside how the informants in the study lived and spoke about these issues, and against my existing ideas and investment in the research project.

The literature is drawn from several disciplines to provide culturally, historically and analytically relevant ways to understand why this area is difficult to study and how it might be possible to study it (Ackerly & True, 2010, p.81). I did not set parameters for my search of the literature, or exclude certain databases or disciplines. Rather, I used 'Google Scholar', the free web search engine that indexes the metadata and full text of scholarly literature across an array of publishing formats and disciplines. I also used 'Google' as an investigative approach to follow the trails from the references of key authors and works to other references and citations. In addition to following an increasing number of key scholars, I used and built on varying combinations of key search terms as I discovered their relevance. These terms included: race, ethnicity, class, gender, intersectionality, institutional ethnography, feminism, socialist feminism, black feminism, colonialism, social work, social work education, patriarchy[ies], neoliberalism, capitalism, AASW, the public good, higher education, equity, diversity, whiteness, Australia[n], indigenous, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, South Sudanese, discrimination, oppression and privilege. In Google Scholar, I would initially set the search to reveal works from the last five years, but often discovered key or seminal works were written much earlier.

The next section reviews the literature to critically locate the understandings of how organisations and their institutional contexts are used in this thesis.

THE ORGANISATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUITY

In Chapter 1, I drew on the work of Rao and Kelleher (2003) to introduce the differentiation between organisations and institutions. In this chapter, I expand on these differences, and use the literature to clarify what understanding of organisations and their institutional contexts will be used in this thesis, and the relationships between them. Hughes and

Wearing (2013, p.13) suggest while there are many theories used to understand and analyse organisations, they can be grouped into two contrasting ways of defining organisations. Drawing from modernist and functionalist theories, one way of defining emphasises the rationality and goal-directed nature of organisations. In contrast, social constructionist, critical and postmodern ideas emphasise the frequent irrationality of organisations where they are viewed as sites of 'action... comprising contested, and negotiated rationalities' (Chia 1996 in Hughes & Wearing, 2013, p.14).

Writing from an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sector perspective, Alexander Page (2015) draws from critical political sociology, to locate his view of organisations in the second of Hughes and Wearing's (2013) groupings. Page (2015, p.2) argues that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander controlled organisations comprise a civil society sector, and are a:

key way for Indigenous populations to speak back to the state through making political, economic, social, and cultural claims which have largely been ignored. While the settler colonial governance environment ensures both highly-governed inclusion and the continued exclusion of Indigenous peoples today, Indigenous populations negotiate this environment using their agency to establish and maintain these unique community organisations.

Page's (2015) identification of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander controlled organisations forming a civil society sector emphasises that organisations in the Australian context are the products of colonialist historical processes that continue to intersect with colonialism, anti-colonialism, power, politics, culture and economics. The acknowledgment of contestation, negotiation and power dynamics is reflected in the understanding of organisations as comprising the sites or places 'where institutional rules are played out' (Rao & Kelleher, 2003, p.143).

Jones and May (1992, p.121) identify organisations as being in constant interaction with their institutional contexts, which they refer to as the 'general environment'. They suggest the institutional context consists of 'economic, political, legal, technological and societal dimensions' (Jones & May, 1992, p.121). The institutional context is said to comprise 'the rules for achieving social or economic ends' (Rao & Kelleher, 2003, p.142)

where institutional rules, stated or implicit, include those that privilege some groups while maintaining other groups of people in subjugated positions.

In terms of social work, McDonald (2006a) maintains that while many social workers are familiar with the ideas of social work practice and social change at the organisational level, they are much less aware of how to research, practice and work for change at the institutional level. McDonald draws on the work of Christine Oliver (1992) to outline what factors indicate readiness for institutional change:

a mounting performance crisis, growth in internal and external criticism, increased pressure to innovate, changes to external expectations of what constitutes procedural conformity, shifting external dependencies, withdrawal of rewards for institutionalized practices, increases in technical specificity or goal clarity, changes in the statutory environment, growth in intra-field criticism, and conflicting internal interests (McDonald, 2006a, p.5).

McDonald suggested when she wrote this in 2006, that these conditions were present in the broad institutional context of welfare. Arguably, since that time these indicators of readiness for institutional change may have altered in individual or collective emphasis in the inter-related institutional contexts of welfare and education.

Complex organisations

The negotiated and contested nature of organisations and the inter-relationship between organisations and their institutional contexts is recognised as important in institutional ethnography. This is evident in explanations from institutional ethnographers of institutions as 'complexes embedded in the ruling relations that are organised around a distinctive function such as education or health care' (Smith, 2005, p.225) involving 'processes that stretch across time and place to coordinate people's activities' (Bisaillon, 2012a, p.614). The understanding of organisations as interacting with, and influenced by, their institutional contexts suggests the importance of understanding organisations as complex entities.

Australian ethnographer, Tess Lea (2008, p.74), also emphasises the importance for organisational researchers to pay attention to the complexity of organisations, including

how people interact in decision-making, and how organisational leaders and other workers interact in relation to their perceived institutional contexts. Lea (2008a) asserts that another aspect of complexity, often overlooked in research and reports, is the mundane human involvement in processes such as the negotiated nature of formulating and implementing organisational strategic plans, policies and regulations; and in responding to change. This human interaction, frequently involving messy or disorganised debate, incomplete negotiations and compromise, in organisational work is often disappeared in formal accounts.

In line with Lea's (2008a) call to pay attention to organisational complexity, Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard (2011, p.6) suggest that researchers consider the complications of how policy is assembled. Rizvi and Lingard (2011, p.6) highlight the often-contested nature of policy assemblage, frequently resulting in a compromise of contested values where terms like social justice and equity are then 'embedded' and 'performed' within and between organisations, and in relation to institutional contexts. These authors stress to understand meaning, it is necessary to investigate why a policy or document invokes their version of terms like social justice or equity at that time, and what justifications are provided for its use (Rizvi & Lingard, 2011). The images of assemblage and mundane human activity guide me to consider how versions of terms like 'social justice' and 'equity' may be contested, and change over time in organisations like the AASW and RU, and be constructed and performed in varied ways for different stakeholders in the organisational and institutional contexts.

Taking this idea of assemblage further, Gillian Walker (1990) identified a 'social problem apparatus' used by governments and others with power, that co-opts and re-labels issues or problems into more socially and politically acceptable issues. In the process of re-definition, Walker asserts that fundamental questions of power are lost. These works suggest the need for me to be alert to how the day-to-day work of informants, and any efforts towards change, may be 'appropriated through...interactions with the ruling apparatus and participation in the relations of ruling' (Walker, 1990, pp.87-88).

Page's (2015) understanding of organisations in the Australian context as reflecting historical and contemporary colonialist processes and as a collective site for resistance,

Leas' (2008) attention to the mundane, Rizvi and Lingard's (2011, p.5) work on 'assemblage' in education, combined Walker's identification of 'the social problem apparatus', complements the methodological focus of institutional ethnography (Smith, 2005) on how the day-to-day work of informants happens. This informs the investigation in this study of potential disjunctures between what is stated as important or necessary in the texts and policies of the AASW and RU, and how the work of informants, located in similar and different ways in the organisation of the relations of oppression and privilege, occurs. It alerts me to be aware of how some of the work of the informant's might disappear, not be recognised as work, or not be counted in formal accounts of this work. The activity involved in assemblage facilitates consideration and focus in this study on the enactment, human agency and contestation of the day-to-day work of informants as they activate, or 'appropriate' (Peacock, Sellar & Lingard, 2013) policy, and how their own efforts towards change may also be appropriated. The nature of meta-ideological discourses as one key way that institutions, or institutional contexts, influence organisations is discussed in the next section.

ORGANISATIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND LEVELS OF DISCOURSES AND IDEOLOGIES

In chapter 3, I discuss from a methodological viewpoint how I use an adapted version of Smith's (1999) discourse and ideological schema in this current study. Here, I describe how I drew on the literature to situate and adapt that schema. By her own account, Smith takes an unconventional approach to ideology in her feminist sociological materialist method of institutional ethnography, based on her own reading of Marx (Smith, 2004). In discussing her take on Marx, Smith (2004, p.456) asserts:

In Marx's Capital, there are not two critiques, one of the work of the classical political economists and a second of the political economy which was the object of their thought. There is one critique which proceeds from the categories viewed as expressions of social relations. Rather than the ideological practices which cut the categories from their ground and elaborate theory on that basis, the materialist method insists on returning to and investigating the actual social relations in which the categories arise.

From this position, Smith emphasises that it is not enough for social scientists, especially for institutional ethnographers, to invoke a category like neoliberalism and say, for example, that it impacts higher education. Rather, the researcher needs to investigate how the work of people is coordinated to happen in the ways that it does, to produce what actions of what is then labelled as 'neoliberalism' in that particular context.

Smith (1993; 1999) identifies three types and inter-related levels of discourse: ideological codes, institutional discourses and ideological discourses. I have added organisational discourse as a fourth level and type of discourse. The need for this addition was informed by social work and critical organisation literature, and my experience of teaching a fourth-year level unit for social work students about the organisational context of practice. Social work students in Australia are generally taught to understand their practice as occurring at three inter-related levels: the inter-personal, organisational and structural. In critical social work courses, these levels are often explored as being tied together through ideology and discourse (Thompson, 2006; 2012). One aim of this current research project is to contribute to social workers' understanding of how to research their own employing organisations for how injustice is organised, as influenced by institutional contexts. As many contemporary Australian social work students and academics will be familiar with the three-level schema of social work practice, that includes the organisational context, I hope that bringing the organisational type and level of discourse into Smith's (1999) schema of discourse and ideology will make it more accessible and relevant for this intended audience. In the next section, I draw from the literature to explain this adapted four types and level of ideology and discourse schema.

Ideological codes are a smaller unit of analysis (such as the 'good academic' or 'professional social worker') that Smith (1999) identifies as interpretive schemas that can replicate their means of assembling information in response to standardised images/ideals across multiple sites. I understand these multiple sites can be:

- separate geographical locations of the same organisation such as the multiple campuses of RU, or the state level offices and national office of the AASW

- different organisations within the same institutional domain or context such as RU and the University of Tasmania within the shared institutional context of higher education.
- organisations in different, but often over-lapping, institutional contexts such as RU within the higher education institutional context/sector, and the AASW within the welfare institutional context/sector
- the sites of the higher-level organisations and entities that make up the institutional contexts relevant to sectors such as state and federal governments, and international bodies such as the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) or at a higher level, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

I then draw on Jones & May (1992) to adapt Smith's schema to include organisational discourses that are interpretations or reflections of the policy, funding and regulatory signals from the higher level institutional contexts that organisations are reliant on or accountable to, usually within an institutional sector such as education or welfare. Examples of organisational discourses include managerialism, professionalism, credibility, flexible, excellence and innovative. These organisational level discourses may be the same as higher level institutional discourses. More often, it appears senior management of organisations interpret and package the institutional discourses to fit into their organisations in ways that aim to be recognised as credible by the regulatory, funding and policy institutional context above, and also by organisational stakeholders within and around them (Jones & May, 1992). The organisations or bodies that make up the institutional contexts often comprise both national and transnational entities whose workers and texts are themselves influenced by, and creative of, the meta-ideologies (such as neoliberalism and colonialism).

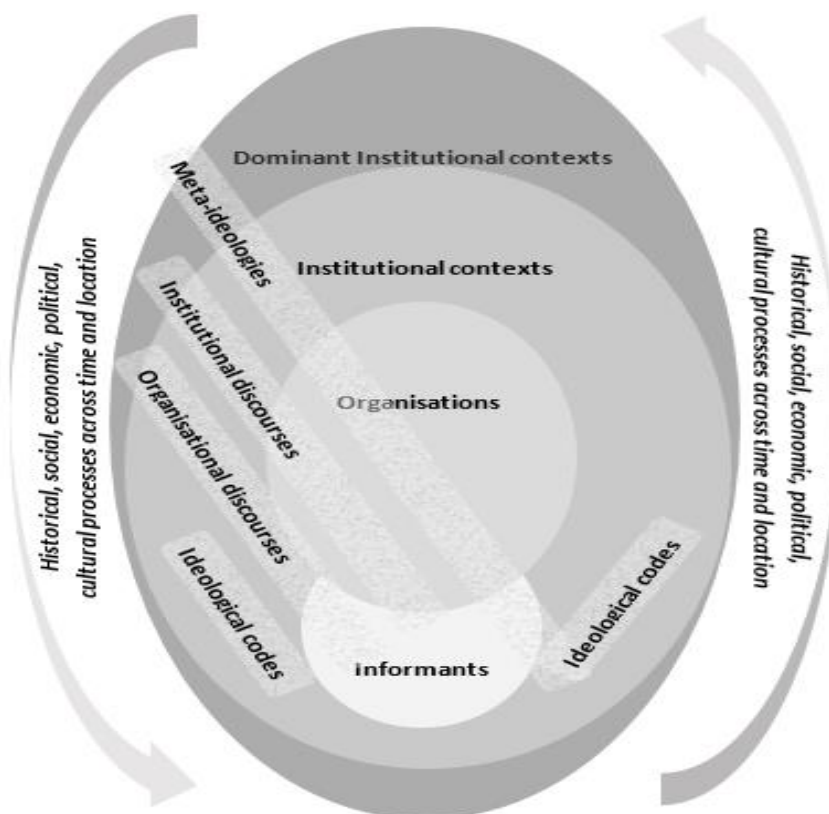
The creation and maintenance of meta-level ideologies is said to include the historical circumstances and processes of their development, and ongoing cultural, political and economic processes, often including coercion, involving the key institutions of societies such as welfare, education, politics, law, family, religion and professional associations (Harvey, 2007). Taking neoliberalism as an illustrative example, I draw on a small section of Harvey's (2007) work where he provides an explanation of how a meta-level ideology came

into existence. Harvey (2007) describes neoliberalism as being created and achieved by varied methods such as military coups, financial force or democratic means in different countries in response to the challenges from the social movements and unrest of the 1960s and 1970s to 'class elites and corporations' (Harvey, 2007 p.42). The transnational capitalist class comprising corporate leaders is reported to have collaborated with neoliberal political leaders to establish international organisations such as the international Monetary Fund (IMF) to promote and regulate neoliberalism and capital accumulation (Harvey, 2007, p.40).

I created the diagram below (Diagram 1: Types and inter-related levels of ideologies and discourses) to assist me to visualise these inter-related types and levels of discourses, and to be informed by them when I analysed narrative and textual data.

Diagram 1: Types and inter-related levels of ideologies and discourses

(adapted from Jones & May, 1992; Smith, 1999; and Thompson, 2006)



I have used an adapted version of Neil Thompson's (2006) 'PCS' process and diagram as a teaching tool to aid in analysing how social work practice is implicated in the processes of

privilege and oppression. Following Thompson's use of the interrelated concentric circles reminded me when interacting with the different types of data, to move between the different levels of analysis, informant talk, what the talk and texts indicated was happening at the organisational and institutional levels, and how the ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses, and meta-ideologies might be brought into being by certain sequences of words in the activation of policies and procedures. The arrows indicate motion, alerting me to remain aware of the changes, continuities, specificities and universal elements in the historical, social, economic, political, cultural processes across time and location.

In the next section, I draw from the critical literature to examine how the meta-ideological discourses of neoliberalism, colonialism, whiteness and patriarchies identified by critical scholars and activists as influencing Australian higher education and social work, are discussed and explained. Drawing from this literature, I explain these discourses and what is said to be important in researching them.

META-LEVEL IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSES

Neoliberalism

Like other concepts discussed in this thesis, neoliberalism is often explained differently according to perspective of the writer or speaker. Those writing from a more critical perspective include Garrett, Jensen & Voela (2016, p.x) who describe neoliberalism as involving 'the expansion of economic thinking in all spheres of human activity, including the family, with emphasis on individualism and practices of extending and disseminating market policies to all institutions and forms of social action'. Similarly, Letizia (2015, p.5) describes neoliberal theory as comprising many facets, 'predicated on a belief that competition-based market mechanisms are the most efficient and effective allocator of goods and services (including education and welfare) for people who are assumed to be 'rational, profit maximising, self-interested, choice making individuals'. Referring specifically to public education, Letizia (2015, p.5) goes on to argue that neoliberalism's focus on the individual

(as a consumer) is incompatible with the core undertaking of public education as a form of social organisation of society.

Neoliberalism is said to happen in 'capitalist states' which, as explained by feminist political economists, Frances Hutchinson and Mary Mellor (2004, p.7) involve systems '...based on commodity production for profitable exchange in which the majority of people are obliged to take part as waged labour if they want to survive'. The capitalist economy is described as 'driven by market led wants rather than public needs' (Hutchinson & Mellor, 2004, p.15). The core ideology, policies and practices of neoliberalism, as the latest stage of capitalism (Duménil & Lévy, 2011) are summarised as including some or all of the following: competition; creation and expansion of markets; marketisation (where an industry or service, like education, is exposed to market forces); commodification (making something like education and welfare an exchange where student and service user as customer purchases an education or welfare product); commercialisation; privatisation; accumulation, profit maximisation, and increasing labor productivity (Marginson & Considine, 2000; Hutchinson & Mellor, 2004; Saunders, 2010).

The ideology and practices of neoliberalism are identified as key influences on higher education, including the education of social workers in Australia (Bay, 2011; Wallace & Pease, 2011; Testa & Egan, 2013). The institutional contexts of the RU and the AASW include the policy, funding and regulatory settings of the Australian federal and state governments.

Australian education scholar, Julie Rowlands (2016, p.93), argues a 'new global policy accord' accompanied the conversion of the welfare state to the 'regulatory state' from the 1970's. This was a response to the shift to the right in global politics associated with neoliberalism and managerialism that located the cause of economic difficulties with 'big' government and promoted free-market solutions (Rowlands, 2016). Neoliberalism is facilitated by globalisation where supranational bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the OECD have 'pressed governments to shift public policy from social good to deregulation, competition and privatisation' (Rowlands, 2016, p.97). Australian federal and state governments are documented as having implemented New

Public Management (NPM) into education, welfare, Indigenous Affairs, income support, unemployment, penal, immigration, utilities and transport sectors by introducing contestability and the incorporation of private agencies and business management practices into the delivery of services (Lea, 2008; Considine, O'Sullivan, & Nguyen, 2014). The neoliberal process of corporatisation, in reference to Australian universities, is said to involve 'transforming universities into a business by mobilizing processes, discourses, and practices of marketization, managerialism, and privatization' (Blackmore, 2015, p.285).

The phrase 'neoliberal imaginary' (Rizvi & Lingard, 2011, p.6) is an example of how invoking a concept can provide the reader with an image containing a pre-determined set of explanatory ideas without the authors having to provide the accompanying detail. Complementing, and in contrast to, the convenience of invoking a pre-packaged concept, American-based academics, Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2002) argue the necessity for researchers to document the detail and explanation of how neoliberalism happens. This is similar to how Smith (2005) calls for researchers to investigate and explicate the actual social relations, the coordinated activities of people as they create neoliberalism. They suggest there are often differences between the rhetoric of neoliberal ideas in particular contexts, and their material practice. These scholars critique and extend the dominant explanations of the practices of neoliberalism that focus on the ideology of free markets and small governments with their critical geographical perspective of 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p.349). I find Brenner and Theodore's (2002) emphasis on documenting the actual particularities and inter-relationships between the local, regional, national and global contexts of neoliberalism to be consistent with the located and embodied focus of institutional ethnography. As they explain, in understanding neoliberalism it is important to explore for the:

contextual embeddedness of neoliberal restructuring projects ... produced within national, regional and local contexts defined by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p.349).

Australian-based scholar, Matthew Ryan (2015, p.80), expands the ‘actually existing neoliberalism’ approach from its focus on discovering local practices of neoliberalism to also considering neoliberal theory itself as ‘complex, heterogeneous and contradictory’. Ryan (2015) argues that awareness of the nature of neoliberalism as ‘heterogeneous’ in theory and ‘uneven in material realities of practice’ creates a more robust conceptual tool. American-based social work academic, Anne Deepak (2012) also develops Brenner and Theodore’s (2002) idea of embedded and contextualised neoliberal implementation practices in ways suited for the Australian settler colonial context. Deepak (2012, p.786) describes neoliberal implementation practices as being ‘enforced on top of an historically unequal global playing field that started with colonialism, overlaid on pre-existing inequalities based on gender, class, ethnicity, religion and caste’.

Neoliberal practices are said to be identifiable through a unifying set of principles and strategies (Hutchinson & Mellor, 2004). However, Deepak (2012) and other scholars also identify that neoliberalism and its associated practices are deployed in context specific combinations, and experienced in different ways and locations, as established through historical and ongoing social relations (Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Sewpaul, 2006; Zubrzycki & Crawford, 2013). In the child protection context, Australian researchers, Phillip Gillingham and Timothy Graham (2016) have shown how the logics of audit and NPM that emphasise accountability, efficiency and effectiveness as per the ‘business model’ are embodied in the policies and procedures contained in electronic information systems (IS). Further, they demonstrate how these NPM imbued IS systems reflect the needs of managers rather than front-line workers to re-orient priorities within organisations away from the front-line workers. This guides me to look for the context specific ways that neoliberalism is practiced in the organisational and institutional contexts of social work education. An important influence in the institutional context of Australian higher education is the political party, or parties, that hold power in the Commonwealth Government, examined in the next section for alignment with neoliberalism.

Neoliberal ideology and practice in the institutional context of the Australian Commonwealth Government

The Commonwealth Government in Australia provides the majority of public funding for higher education. The Commonwealth Government regulates the ‘Higher Education Support

Act 2003' that defines the standards that must be met for an entity to be registered as a university, a requirement to receive the federal education funding (Rowlands, 2016). The ideology, principles and policy platform of the political party elected to power in the federal government is a key influence on the construction and enactment of laws and policies that affect the funding and regulation of all ministerial portfolios, including the higher education and welfare sectors.

Governments, like the conservative Liberal Party of Australia (LP) in coalition with the National Party currently in power in Australia, self-report and are analysed by others, in regards to their stated commitment to reducing the size and scope of their direct delivery of public services such as education (Aspromourgos, 2015; Conifer, 2016). Here, I draw on the work of Ryan (2015) to focus attention on how the actual work of the Federal Government often differs from what the Liberal Party describes as its key beliefs. The statement of key beliefs of the Liberal Party in their Federal Platform (2015) reveal a pragmatic blending of different ideologies united in being 'non-labour', opposed to socialism (LP, 2016) and critical of the perceived inefficiencies of the post-war Keynesian welfare state (Cahill, 2004). Politicians in the different ideological groupings, or factions, within the Liberal Party appear to be able to negotiate and agree on some ideological strands and policies, at other times there is obvious conflict and dispute, for example in relation to same-sex marriage (Neilson, 2015b; Warhurst, 2015, 2016). The ideology of classic liberalism is evident in the stated key belief in 'the innate worth of the individual, in the right to be independent, to own property and to achieve, and in the need to encourage initiative and personal responsibility'. Classic liberalism is also apparent in the claim that '...Liberalism, with its emphasis on the individual and enterprise, [is] ... the political philosophy best able to meet the demands and challenges of the 21st century' (LP, 2015, p.5). Conservative ideology is contained in the belief in 'the family as the primary institution for fostering the values on which a cohesive society is built' and neoliberal ideology is evident in statements of belief in 'the creation of wealth and in competitive enterprise, consumer choice and reward for effort as the proven means of providing prosperity for all Australians' (LP, 2015, p.5) and in the statement advocating commitment to a 'limited government – the idea that governments should do only those things the private sector cannot and should only provide financial assistance to the private sector in cases where there is a clear public benefit' (LP, 2015, p.10).

The statements present a position of neoliberal commitment to the role of government as being limited, yet the practice of the Liberal Party (and the Labor Party) in government has involved significant federal government social spending on a redistributive model while inequality has grown (Spies-Butcher, 2014). In addition to substantial federal government spending on income transfers, such as pensions and benefits, they also facilitate the redistribution of income and wealth from lower to higher income households through subsidising private education and taxation concessions such as superannuation and investment housing concessions (ACOSS, 2015).

The supply and demand principles of the market, rather than government policy, are said to be the most efficient allocator of resources, and life opportunities such as education and welfare, for their populations. This is illustrated in the Liberal Party's (2015, p.5) statement of fundamental belief in '...the creation of wealth and in competitive enterprise, consumer choice and reward for effort as the proven means of providing prosperity for all Australians'. This belief in constant economic growth as a requirement to deliver human progress is identified as a general and shared understanding in neoliberal ideology and economics (Soederberg, 2014). Canadian, global political economist, Susanne Soederberg's (2014, p.1) draws attention to the use of disciplinary measures within neoliberal ideology and practices, in her explanation of neoliberalism as a:

contested, contradictory and complex process carried out at various scales (global, national, local) by capitalist states through rhetorical and regulative means. These neoliberal processes are not only guided by the preference for market-led, but also entail disciplinary and ideological dimensions.

The nature of the power of national and international organisations, and the AASW and RU to discipline through policy setting, funding, accreditation and reaccreditation powers, and performance appraisals and workload allocations is explored in in Chapters 5-8 of this thesis. This exploration reveals the power of texts to standardise, regulate, coordinate and discipline the work of the three informants.

Chapter 1 provided a sketch of the historical context of Australian social work, arguing the enduring implications of colonialism in the current social relations of the AASW, the university and the study, teaching and practice of social work. This reinforces the need in this current study for the investigation to be alert to how the work of informants is organised by textual hierarchies likely to reflect organisational and institutional histories built on racialised, gendered and classed colonial practices and relations. I argue this approach is congruent with the sociology of institutional ethnography that entails investigation of where and how work is organised in specific ways in organisations as they interact with their institutional contexts. This involves the work to find what ideologies are influential, and where and how this influence is present.

Unlike neoliberalism, it is often more difficult to identify the ideology of colonialism in the strategic plans, annual reports or in the statements of key beliefs of mainstream Australian organisations, as it is not generally overt. Australian scholar, Carol Bacchi (2009), developed an approach called 'What's the problem represented to be' (WPR) to critically interrogate public policies, also useful for locating the ideological underpinnings of policies or other texts. The work of Bacchi (2009), in combination with other scholars mentioned in this chapter, alerted me to look for the assumptions underpinning how issues are discussed, the silences in terms of whose voices are missing from the presentation and analysis of issues, and to pay attention to where and how the representation of the issue or text has been constructed.

Using this method, I continue the analysis of the Australian Liberal Party Federal Platform (2015) commenced in the previous section that focused on identifying the neoliberal ideology it contained, to discuss in this section how it also contains colonialist ideology. Following Bacchi's (2009) 'WPR approach', I found colonialism was evident in the silences, by the absence of any statement regarding the conflictual basis of settler-colonial relations in Australia in the Liberal Party Federal Platform (2015). In the only reference to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the sixteen-page Party Platform document (LP, 2015), the ongoing use of force and violence by colonisers to achieve colonisation, and

ongoing resistance from the original inhabitants to being colonised, is not mentioned. Rather, in making history invisible (Moreton-Robinson, 2003; Little & McMillan, 2016), the preferred coloniser fictional narrative of a bloodless and uncontested occupation is invoked and maintained in the Liberal Party Platform document, as illustrated in the following quote:

The Europeans who began to settle Australia more than two hundred years ago did not come to an empty land. For tens of thousands of years, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples had lived on this continent. Their contribution to Australia's identity has been, and will continue to be, a vital and enriching one (LP, 2015, p.6).

The only other reference to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians in the Platform document is where the Liberal Party (2015, p.12) states in relation to education they will 'provide for the needs of special groups in the community including the disabled, the aged, indigenous Australians and remote communities'. There is no recognition in the document of any causal relationship between colonialism, privilege, discrimination and disadvantage. Rather, the document reproduces a dominant coloniser narrative of 'indigenous Australians' as a special group whose situation is likened by association with disability as an unfortunate accident, and with ageing as an inevitable progressive human frailty, all similarly requiring the action, in this case, of the Liberal Party to provide benevolent and paternalistic care. There is no mention in the document of reconciliation, constitutional reform, treaties or any other way of acknowledging contested past, and ongoing, settler-colonial relations.

Whiteness

An additional lens to use in studying the structure of organisations are the concepts of whiteness as an ideology, as an organising principle of organisations (Gusa, 2010; Shore, 2010) and as epistemology (for example, Dwyer & Jones, 2000; Moreton-Robinson, 2004a). Writing about higher education in America, Diane Gusa (2010, p.464) introduced the term 'White insitutional presence (WIP)' to describe the 'embedded White cultural ideology in the cultural practices, traditions and perceptions of knowlede that are taken for granted as the norm at institutions of higher education'. Scholars have identified that 'education [and welfare] and socio-economic conditions are dialectically interlinked' (Hickling-Hudson, 2002,

p.567) where it is important to bear in mind that 'universities [and other organisations] often mirror the nature of race and gender relations in the wider society' (Sue, 2004, p. 766).

RU and the AASW are dialectically interlinked with the context of Australia, described by Anne Hickling-Hudson (2003) as a predominantly 'white' society of the European diaspora shaped by, and practising, colonialism. The culturally diverse population consists of a minority indigenous population and the majority population of descendants of the British who displaced and dispossessed indigenous peoples in the colonisation. The population of Australia is also increased by diverse migrant peoples (Hickling-Hudson, 2003). By the 1970s, the Australian Federal Government had largely replaced the 'White Australia Policy' with a 'multicultural policy' (Aquino, 2016). Within multiculturalism, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples work hard to be recognised 'not just as one of the many minority cultures, but as the only group to be developed within the Australian continent' (Hickling-Hudson, 2003, p.384) having lived in Australia for over 50 000 years (Bergström, et al., 2016). Numerous studies have reported racism as a problem at Australian universities (Graycar, 2010; AHRC, 2012; Lawson, 2014; Gair, Miles, Savage, & Zuchowski, 2015); in the construction and delivery of welfare services and organisations (for example, Green & Baldry, 2008; Bennet, 2015; Young, 2004) and for minority cultural background social work students (Gair, et al., 2015).

It is suggested that Euro-white social work researchers, educators and practitioners need to increase their understanding of, and interrogate, whiteness (Young, 2004; Walter, et al., 2011). Understanding and interrogating whiteness is necessary to challenge the paternalistic tendencies of professional Australian social work, and to contribute to the decolonisation of social work (Baltra-Ulloa, 2013). The works of indigenous, whiteness and decolonisation scholars such as those identified in this chapter, alert me to be aware of and explore for any racialised and colonialist practices that may serve to embed the dominant white-Euro Australian ideological discourses in the curricula, texts and pedagogy of Australian social work education, the physicality and spatiality of locations, and in me.

I have found it instructive to read and learn how Indigenous, black and minority cultural background scholars, researchers, practitioners and students describe white cultural orientations. Moreton-Robinson and Walter (2009, p.98) provide a useful comparison of Indigenous and western research methodologies suggesting 'each contains an identifiable and distinctive form ...[that]...emerge from their respective knowledge systems'. These authors suggest the Indigenous epistemology is based on knowledge derived from embodied and spiritual connectivity, that is shared, not owned and context specific. In contrast, the western epistemology is said to value knowledge based on objectivity, rationality where knowledge status is limited to the educated and elite, and knowledge can be owned by an individual knower (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009). These differences in epistemology are one way to frame the following discussion of how 'epistemic injustice' (Fricker, 2007) may be embedded in a white-dominated education sector.

Expanding the understanding of whiteness as ideology and epistemology, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivack's (1994, p.78) seminal work on 'epistemic violence' as taken up by Miranda Fricker (2007) is concerned with dominant and subjugated knowledges. Fricker's (2007, p.1) formulation of epistemic injustice is useful in this study to understand how injustice can be practiced towards those groups at some distance from the ideological codes of the 'good social work student', the 'good social work academic' and the 'good social worker'. Fricker (2007, p.1), explains epistemic injustice as 'a wrong done to someone in their capacity as a knower', comprising two main forms:

Testimonial injustice occurs when prejudices cause a hearer to give a deflated level of credibility to a speaker's word; hermeneutical injustice occurs at a prior stage, when a gap in collective interpretive resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences. An example of the first might be that the police do not believe you because you are black; an example of the second might be that you suffer sexual harassment in a culture that still lacks that critical concept.

Understanding this concept of epistemic injustice seems especially important when academic writers suggest that most white students, academics, administrators and social

workers are largely unaware of their whiteness (in regards to Australia see for example, Ferrier, 1999; Borderlands Special Edition, 2004; Haggis, 2004; Moreton-Robinson, 2004a; Young, 2004; Hambel, 2007; Pease, 2010; Shore, 2010; Riggs & Due, 2011; Walter, et al., 2011; Young & Zubrzycki, 2011; and overseas for example, Dwyer & Jones, 2000; Leonardo, 2002; Hays & Chang, 2003; Allen, 2004; Ratcliffe, 2005; Preston, 2007; Ryde, 2009; Applebaum, 2010; Gusa, 2010; Jeyasingham, 2011; de Montigny, 2013). The extent to which whiteness dominates the profession of social work, university culture, curriculum and pedagogy, can make it difficult, uncomfortable and at times dangerous (AHRC, 2009c; Mason, 2012; Ferdinand, Kelaher, & Paradies, 2013; Veldman & Guilfoyle, 2013) for many non-white people. The general lack of awareness of white people of the role of whiteness in creating and maintaining inequality is discussed by David Gillborn (2008, p.170):

One of the most powerful and dangerous aspects of whiteness is that many (possibly the majority) of white people have no awareness of whiteness as a construction, let alone their own role in sustaining and playing out the inequities at the heart of whiteness.

White American whiteness scholar, Claire Lockard (2016) extends the work of Sara Ahmed (2004) and Shannon Sullivan (2006; 2014) to highlight that endeavouring to become aware of whiteness through ‘admissions of racism actually make racism harder to address by appearing to be effective anti-racist actions in and of themselves’. Lockard (2016, p.16) argues that white people admitting white privilege, perhaps enjoying the ‘pleasure’ of the ‘racist confession’, or white people making efforts to become more aware of their own complicity in racism is not only not enough, but can be damaging to anti-racist work. Ahmed (2004), Sullivan (2006) and Lockard (2016) identify the difficulties, and unlikelihood that white people can be skilled and genuine anti-racists. However, I find agreement with Lockard (2016, p.18) that even though inadequate, there is value in whites aiming to cause ‘less damage to their/our communities that they/we do at present’. Whites can move ‘beyond confession to becoming ‘performative’ by ‘placing emphasis on the agency of non-white people’... ‘avoiding white-centric conversations about white-guilt’, and engaging in other strategies such as attending political rallies, protests and marches (Lockard, 2016, p. 18). As a white researcher, there is much to be informed by in these scholarly works to

guide this research project to avoid being white-centric, and to be of use in efforts to decolonise Australian social work education.

Patriarchies

In his book, *Undoing Privilege*, Pease (2010, p.93) provides a thorough discussion of the historical development of the concept of patriarchy, commencing usage from the 1970s to refer to the 'overarching framework of the various forms of male domination and men's systemic exploitation of women'. Pease (2010, p.93) identifies three threads of patriarchy being 'male-dominated, male-identified and male-centred'. In agreement with Pease's examination of the maturation of concept, I prefer the term patriarchies as this allows for the exploring the 'historical structure and changing dynamics of patriarchies as they intersect with many factors and experiences' (Pease, 2010 p.94). In addition, the plural form acknowledges 'culturally specific forms of patriarchy that arise from different regions of the world' (Pease, 2010, p.94). Pease does not specifically refer to there being multiple patriarchies within one country, such as Australia being a settler colonial country with an internally colonised population, but the understanding of there being multiple patriarchies allows for this.

Indigenous female scholars in Australia have generally rejected the traditional view of patriarchy as essentialist, for failing to recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's racialised and gendered position. However, some Aboriginal female scholars endorse the combination of patriarchy and colonialism (patriarchal colonialism), and Moreton-Robinson & Walter (2009, p.99) further develop this to use the concept of 'patriarchal white sovereignty'. These conceptual understandings of patriarchies and 'patriarchal white sovereignty' inform this study.

As introduced in chapter 1, feminist perspectives understand gender as 'a social relation characterized by power inequalities that hierarchically produce, organize, and evaluate masculinities and femininities through the contested but controlling practices of individuals, organizations, and societies' (Ferree, 2010 p.424).

White, UK-based, social work academic, Stephen Hicks (2009; 2015) has, usefully,

drawn on the works of Ferree (2010) and Smith (2005) to critique the dominant approaches to gender within social work. I have taken up Hicks' (2015, p.471) suggestion to focus on relations of gender [and in this thesis, also of race/ethnicity and class] 'as practical accomplishments that occur within various settings or contexts'. In particular, I have been informed by Hicks' (2015) analysis of the normative assumptions of whiteness and heterosexuality that underpin the tendency of white female social workers (similar to me) to want to emphasise commonalities over differences between women, and also to treat [white] men as a homogenous group. This alerted me to be reflexive regarding my own tendency to homogenise, and be wary of, white, middle-classed, middle-aged, heterosexual men as I collected and analysed data in this research.

Pease (2016, pp.291-292) draws on the work of Australian sociologist, Raewyn Connell (2000) to outline six dimensions to understand masculinities:

(1) Multiple masculinities that arise from different cultures, different historical periods and different social divisions between men (2) different positions reflected in these multiple masculinities in relation to power with some forms of masculinity being hegemonic and dominant, while other masculinities are marginalised and subordinated; (3) institutionalised masculinities embedded in organisational structures and in the wider culture as well as being located within individual men; (4) embodied masculinities that are represented physically in how men engage with the world; (5) masculinities produced through the actions of individual men; (6) fluid masculinities that change in relation to the reconstructive efforts of progressive men and in response to changes in the wider society. Within this theoretical context, Connell (1995) identifies four forms of masculinity: hegemonic, complicit, marginalised and subordinate.

In this section, I have drawn from relevant critical literature to identify and explore the meta-ideological discourses suggested as relevant to the institutional contexts of Australian higher education and social work.

INSTITUTIONAL AND ORGANISATIONAL DISCOURSES IN AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WORK

The meta-ideologies and practices of neoliberalism, colonialism, whiteness and patriarchies, as discussed above, are identified as key influences on higher education, including the education of social workers in Australia (Bay, 2011; Wallace & Pease, 2011; Testa & Egan, 2013). This section draws on the literature to provide an exploration of how these meta-ideologies are currently understood as influencing institutional and organisational discourses in Australian higher education, as it also affects Australian social work education.

The Australian higher education sector

Education scholars such as Blackmore (2014; 2015) identify the organisations at international and national levels that comprise the institutional context of Australian higher education. During the 1990s, the two major political parties in Australia (Labor and Liberal/National) adopted education policies to be consistent with the program of structural adjustment policies of two international organisations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Blackmore, 2015). These policies are identified by Blackmore (2002, p.423) as having promoted 'privatisation and marketisation; reduced government expenditure in public education, health and welfare to balance national budgets; instituted labour market and financial deregulation; and focused on export not domestic markets.' Australia, like other developed nations, massively expanded higher education in response to the perceived international economic and policy signals of neoliberalism. Between 1982 and 2014 there has been a 30% increase in the percentage of people holding a degree, from 3.1 per cent in 1982 (DEET, 1993) to 30.2% in 2014 (ABS, 2014). This rapid growth in higher education saw student numbers reach 1.3 million domestic and international students in 2013 (Favaloro, 2015).

Discourse of social justice

Educational scholars identify that social justice was a key element of education policy in Australia, where education policy was formed within, and in response to, broader Australian and international political, economic and social relations, contexts and contestations (Blackmore, 2007; Carson, 2009). Writing about education in the 1890s, Blackmore (2006, p.

188) observes how the historical relations of class, race and gender are implicated in education systems to frame what social justice means:

But education systems were also socially, culturally and economically reproductive as differentiated by class, 'race' and gender. The Anglophone nation state was also a white masculinist state, excluding any representation of indigenous peoples, while partially including that of immigrant and 'racialised' populations. The cultural knowledge of Aboriginals and immigrant groups was absent as they were expected to assimilate. White middle-class women, while marginalised, were complicit in this subordination. Social justice was understood at the turn of the 20th century as access to male-stream educational institutions.

In a later article, Blackmore (2007, pp.251-265) discusses how social justice discourses in Australian education were shaped and developed within historical contexts, including: imperialism; whiteness; colonialism; immigration; different understandings of equity; the 'male wage earner state'; the social movements of the 1970s; femocrats; anti-discriminatory and affirmative action legislation; liberal feminism; cultural feminism; multiculturalism; economic rationalism; public choice theory; structural adjustment; international competitiveness; massification; user pays; new managerialism; mainstreaming of equity within human resources discourses; productive diversity; managing diversity; devolving of equity from government down to the local and individual; global policy communities; enterprise bargaining; privatisation; and a separation of recognition from redistribution.

Blackmore (2007, p.263) identifies a standardised common norm where she discusses the struggle of educators trying to navigate 'between sameness ...national curriculum and standardized tests) and difference (different learning styles and needs) ... [where] education discourses have been dominated by 'the [standardised] common''. I am guided in this study by Blackmore's (2007, p.263) conclusion that 'feminist, critical race, multicultural and post-colonial theorists' challenge educators how to recognise difference beyond comparing it to a norm composed of a dominant set of standards. In the next

section, the assertion that social justice has been diluted into the weaker concepts of equity and diversity is examined.

Equity and diversity discourse

Australian universities have a relatively long and established policy framework of social justice and equity issues in higher education (Gale & Tranter, 2011; Naylor, Baik, & James, 2013). Many international (for example, Archer, 2007; Brennan & Naidoo, 2008; Burke & Hayton, 2011; David, 2011) and Australian studies and scholars (for example, Blackmore, 2007; Thornton, 2008; Carson, 2009; Gale, 2011; Gale & Tranter, 2011; Rizvi & Lingard, 2011; Peacock, Sellar, & Lingard, 2013) identify that much of the social justice and social inclusiveness discourse associated with the public good role of universities has been 'watered down' (David, 2011, p.27) and substantially replaced by the more neoliberal, economically driven equity and diversity discourses. The emphasis in the public good and social justice discourse of universal access to higher education was on providing a collective increase in the quality of democracy. In contrast, the equity and diversity goals of higher education emphasise the link to competition in the 'knowledge economy' where the primary reason to recruit those previously excluded from university is to fuel economic productivity and foster national ability to compete in a global market.

Social justice, equity, diversity and social inclusion are concepts often used interchangeably in both the higher education and social work literature. The National Centre for Student Equity in Higher Education (NCVER, 2010, para. 4) in defining equity proposes that:

equity is predicated on recognition that social systems (including education systems) tend to produce unequal outcomes (advantage and disadvantage) and that in part this is because individuals' starting positions and the processes involved in the production of social and economic outcomes are unfair. In this context, equity is a commitment to adjusting social systems for socially just means and ends. Implicit in this view is that "equity" and "social justice" are different but closely related. Equity is conceived as a strategy: (a) based on a commitment to achieving (more) socially

just ends; and (b) developed from a theory about why a particular social system is not socially just.

Rizvi and Lingard (2011, p.5) suggest that definitions, such as the one provided above, are not enough to understand social justice or equity. They argue it is not possible to discern the meaning of concepts like [social justice and] equity without considering the specific ways these notions are 'embedded' and 'performed' often as 'an assemblage that brings together a number of contrasting, and sometimes competing, values'. In Rizvi and Lingard's (2011, p.6) assessment, although the most recent policy permutation of widening participation, the Bradley Report, contained ideas consistent with 'a politically progressive notion of equity... [they] are now performed through a new assemblage with a range of ideas associated with the neoliberal imaginary'.

The Australian higher education sector consisted of only 30 000 students in 1955, the vast majority of whom were white males, and from relatively privileged backgrounds (Naylor & James, 2015). By 1980, student numbers had increased to more than 300 000 along with 'access and equity' being identified, and constructed, as an issue (Naylor & James, 2015). Gale & Parker (2013, p.6) declare that since 1990 the focus of widening participation has been redefined by the use of the term 'equity'. In these reforms, equity refers to 'the notion that the representation of people from ... target or 'equity groups' ... within the university student population should be the same as their representation within the broader population' (Gale & Parker, 2013, p.6). 'Proportional representation' [is said to] define[s] equity in Australian HE...' (Gale & Parker, 2013, p.6). The Dawkins reforms included the 1990 federal policy implementation of 'A Fair Chance for All' (DEET, 1990). These reforms identified a dual focus for the role of universities. Universities were to be both a driver of economic growth and a key social institution to 'promote fairness and social inclusion, interpreted as proportional representation at the level of class, gender and race' (Harvey, Burnheim, & Brett, 2016, p.4). At the institutional level, the Australian Federal Government was clear in its stated intent that 'fairness' involved universities responding to the new demand driven funding system, within an incentive and penalty framework, to expand their markets to capture those 'non-traditional' students with the necessary 'drive and aptitude' as defined in a merit-based system (Australian Government, 2009, p.6). The

Federal Government wanted universities to deliver more of the workers it thought the Australian economy needed now and in the future to compete internationally.

Government policy and research documents (DEET, 1990; Bradley, et al., 2008) label and separate those excluded from higher education into 'disadvantaged' or 'equity groups'. The 'A Fair Chance for All' (DEET, 1990) policy specified attention to six government defined 'equity groups': people from regional and remote areas; people with a disability; people from non-English speaking backgrounds; women in non-traditional areas of study and higher degrees; and Indigenous people. The policy focussed on the access and representation of excluded groups, aiming for the composition of the student population to reflect the broader population (DEET, 1990, p.8).

The Australian Government required universities to aim for their student population to proportionally reflect the composition of Australian society (DEET, 1990). A number of national equity objectives for the participation of disadvantaged groups were proposed based on Australian census data and initially included: lower socio-economic (low SES, target 25%); Non-English Speaking Background (NESB; born overseas and less than 10 years living in Australia, 4.66%); disability (8%); regional (23.32%); remote (0.60%); indigenous (2.23%); and women in non-traditional fields (40%) (DEET, 1990). Critical education scholars argue that alongside the transition from elite to a mass education, social justice in the Australian higher education sector has been diluted into an equity and diversity discourse. Several studies (James, Karmel, & Bexley, 2013; Koshy, 2014) have shown that the transition from elite to mass education in Australia may have provided benefits to some of those in federal government identified categories of 'disadvantaged groups'. However, in terms of total numbers, these same studies report there were no significant changes in comparative representation, and thus no real change in inequality. This is confirmed by Naylor et al. (2013, p.6) who provide the following statistics:

despite increased participation for students from equity groups, the participation rate for students from low SES (socio-economic status), Indigenous and remote backgrounds (as well as other educationally disadvantaged backgrounds) remains below parity-in some cases, well below. The participation ratio for low SES students

is 0.62, with 1.0 indicating parity, whereas that of Indigenous students is 0.55, and students from remote backgrounds, 0.39'.

The 2008 Review of Australian Higher Education (the 'Bradley Review'), reduced the focus from six to three 'equity' groups: 'students who are Indigenous, who come from a low socio-economic status (SES) background, or who have a disability'. Universities received a separate funding loading that served to maintain regional and remote students as an equity group. Although intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 2009) was being used by many critical scholars to consider and investigate student equity for over a decade, government and university policy development remained seemingly unaware of these theoretical and research developments to inform their own policy work and maintained a siloed and deficit approach.

At the organisational level, universities' consideration of strategies to address identified equity and diversity issues in regards to students, as framed in institutional contexts, is often isolated from how similar issues affects staff. Australian researchers, Brigid Trenerry and Yin Paradies (2012), argue that universities are motivated by perceived increases in productivity and by compliance with regulatory requirements of equal opportunity to use diversity management. However, although universities routinely use strategies such as diversity training to 'manage' diversity and combat racism within organisations, there is little evidence as to the effectiveness of such strategies at maximising the advantages of diversity or reducing racism. As Sara Ahmed (2006; 2012) discusses, the fact that a university may state in publications and marketing material a commitment to being a diverse organisation does not necessarily mean that they are one. Providing many examples in her study of diversity work in Australian universities, Ahmed (2012, p.147) goes on to demonstrate that at the organisational level, 'diversity can be a method of protecting whiteness' where it serves to block real engagement with forces within the university that seek to make the diversity mission more than a mere discourse. Diversity workers in universities are thus encapsulated in the metaphor of 'hitting a brick wall' with Ahmed (2012, p.187) warning diversity workers: 'We might need to become the blockage points by pointing out the blockage points'. I consider the nature of potential lack of performativity of

RU and AASW policies, statements and marketing regarding social justice, and equity and diversity in the analysis of data contained in Chapters 5-7.

In developing policies that aim to achieve equity, defined as proportional representation at the level of class, gender and race in universities, the problem could have been constructed by politicians and policy makers differently. Drawing on Bacchi's (2009) social policy analysis framework (discussed earlier in this chapter), the problem could have been identified as, 'how to reduce the over-representation in universities of those most privileged, those from ruling race/ethnicity, gender, class and other groups' (for data regarding the over-representation of privileged groups see, for example, James, 2007; Bradley, et al., 2008; Testa & Egan, 2013; Koshy, 2014). Another way to pose the problem could then have been 'what are the inter-locking ideologies, institutional forms, policies and practices that create and maintain the current over-representation of privileged groups, particularly in the most elite courses and the most elite universities'. These questions would have raised the issues of fairness, 'the proportional distribution of student places between socio-economic groups' (Harvey, Andrewartha, & Burnheim, 2016). However, the problem was constructed in a way that appears more consistent with the government's predominantly colonialist, neoliberal economic and social policy agenda, where the groups excluded from higher education were identified and labelled as the 'equity groups', as the problem to be fixed. This seems plausible when the Bradley Report appears to have situated equity within a human capital theory that assumes the necessity of competition within the discourses of globalisation and educational values as promoted by international organisations such as the OECD, the World Bank and the European Union (Blackmore, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2011) that form part of the institutional context of higher education. From here, it is clearer, that the intention of Australia's widening participation policies, despite nominating targets, may not have been to actually achieve proportional representation or to change the relations of inequality, but to supplement the existing over-representation of privileged groups by competition for more of the 'best of the rest'. Applying Bacchi's (2009) 'WPR analysis', these policy constructions are understood as not focusing attention on the underlying causes of the over-representation of privileged groups and under-representation of oppressed groups in higher education.

Race, ethnicity, nationality, gender and class, among other social divisions, are implicated in the relations of social stratification, often referred to as social diversity and social exclusion/inclusion, and are considered as dimensions, or versions, of social justice. It has been well documented that higher education in Australia has disproportionately served those most privileged, those from ruling race/ethnicity, gender, class and other groups (for example, James, 2007; Bradley, Noonan, Nugent, & Scales, 2008; Testa & Egan, 2013; Koshy, 2014). It is argued that the more recent massification of higher education has been added on to the existing stratification of the higher education sector itself (Marginson, 2006; Testa & Egan, 2013). Stratification is hierarchically organised from the more working-class technical and further education (TAFE) organisations through to the elite, sandstone universities, and also according to the status of different qualifications and disciplines within these bodies (Wheelahan, 2009).

Not all universities in Australia are the same, partly due to segmentation and stratification based on history and funding (Marginson, 2006, p.11). The traditional Sandstones or 'Group of Eight' (Go8) are more established universities with a substantial funding stream and reputation independent of Government. The Go8's less reliance on government funds and relationships compared to other universities, places them able to choose if, or how much, they engage with the institutional contexts of widening participation and equity reforms, and their associated policy, funding and accountability levers. As Simon Marginson (2011, p.8) explains:

There is a contestable market in the elite institutions for full priced elite students. There is a cut-price competition for volume among lesser status institutions. Equality of opportunity is fractured at one and the same time by the old hierarchy, which is now enhanced, the newly intensified economic competition, and the tight new segmentation between markets.

Gavin Moodie (2009a, p.307) proposes a four-tier typology of global tertiary education institutions hierarchically ranked by positional value: world research universities characterised by research strength; selecting universities distinguished by strong student demand; recruiting universities with lower student demand; and vocational institutes with

predominance of vocational programs. The teaching of higher education in Australia occurs in all of these four tiers of tertiary education.

Research is the most valued and profitable component of academic work disproportionality located in elite universities. In Australia, the Go8 rate themselves, and others assess them as, the elite group of universities (Moodie, 2009b; Group of Eight Australia, 2016b). The Go8 comprise only 20% of Australian full universities but state they receive: 66% of all research funding to the Australian universities; 73% of Australian Competitive Grant (Category 1) funding; and had the largest proportion of research fields rated at 4 or 5 ('above' or 'well above' world standard) in the 2015 Excellence for Research Australia (ERA) exercise (Group of Eight Australia, 2016a, 2016b). This elitism is also present in academic expectations of students reflected in university's entry score requirements. The metric of the Australian Tertiary Admission Rank (ATAR) measures the academic performance of students completing secondary school or vocational education in Australia. Research has documented how the connection between academic performance and socio-economic background ensures that patterns of social stratification are reproduced in measures such as the distribution of ATARs (Preston, 2007; Scull & Cuthill, 2010; Devlin, Kift, Nelson, Smith, & McKay, 2012; Testa & Egan, 2013).

In Australia, and many other countries, there is a vocationally oriented sector that forms a lower-status, 'second tier' of tertiary education to the higher-status, first tier of higher education, mainly universities (Moodie, 2009a). There are usually educational pathways that facilitate student transfer from higher level courses in the vocationally oriented 'second' tier to the academically oriented 'first' tier courses in university-based higher education (Moodie, 2009a). In contrast to universities, who focus on the professions with 'higher level cognitive skills and a more theoretical approach', TAFE in Australia continues to be associated more with preparing people for the practical jobs of the working-class, where TAFE is expected to teach competencies and skills in an applied approach (Goozee, 2001, p.9). TAFE's role includes addressing the needs of those who are 'disadvantaged', and who may require a second chance:

the vocational education and training (VET) needs of industry, the entry-level VET requirements of 15-19 year olds, the special needs of disadvantaged groups within society and the retraining needs of those who wish to re-enter the workforce after an absence or as a result of redundancy (Goozee, 2001, p.9).

The three key informants in this current study each experienced TAFE as a second-chance in their own educational journey. The implications of TAFE's positioning as being of a lower status compared to the university sector is explored. Both the TAFE and university sectors have been affected by reductions in government funding, the impacts of managerialism, introduction of competition and other pressures from their institutional contexts.

NPM, managerialism, entrepreneurism, excellence and competition

In the context of globalisation and neoliberalism and the massification of higher education, Australian universities, like those in other countries, are reported to have experienced significant change (Marginson & Considine, 2000; Blackmore, 2002). Higher education (Marginson & Considine, 2000; Blackmore, 2015) and social work scholars (McDonald, Harris & Wintersteen, 2003; McDonald, 2006b; Marston & McDonald, 2012) argue that the higher education and welfare sectors in Australia, like other countries categorised as part of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), have been restructured following neo-liberal inspired reforms since the late 1980s. These reforms involving corporatisation are part of a model called 'New Public Management' (NPM) that springs from neoliberalism (Blackmore, 2015). NPM occurs through governments, business and organisations adopting the discourses and practices of managerialism and privatisation. NPM uses a variety of methods including accountability performance targets, outcome measures, performance measurement, benchmarking, best practice and quality audit measures to reduce perceived duplication and waste, thus claiming to improve efficiency and achieve quality (Baines, 2011; Rowlands, 2016).

Massification, reductions in government funding, deregulation and competition have significantly eroded collegial governance and academic freedom, replaced by managerialism, entrepreneurism and bureaucracy (Norton & Cakitaki, 2016). Managerialism

refers to managers of academics directing and monitoring their work through mechanisms including targets, performance appraisals and incentives (Aspromourgos, 2015).

There is a tendency in much of the literature that is critical of the impact of neoliberalism on Australian and other systems of higher education to romanticise the traditional model of the university that had developed from a 'traditional [white class privileged] male sanctum' (McCarthy, 2011). In contrast, Ferree and Zippel (2015, p.562) point out that the traditional model and the neoliberal model of the university are both 'flawed... largely reflect[ing] the interests of privileged populations, even though their meritocratic and governance principles differ.

In line with neoliberal practices of privatisation, marketisation and competition, governments reduced funding to the Australian higher education sector. These funding cuts have driven an increasing reliance on student fees, and recruitment of international full-fee paying students (Marginson, 2015). The desire of universities to increase perceived status now exists alongside pressures to compensate for reduced government funding by maximising student fee income. Australian universities, although still overwhelmingly public institutions, are now leading competitors in a new international market for student load (Marginson, 2006).

In this context, there has been increased competition for students, and a huge increase in the number of fee-paying international students enrolled in Australian higher education where they now comprise one in five students in Australian universities (Marginson, 2015; Norton & Cakitaki, 2016). The ABC's Four Corners' program, 'Degrees of Deception', reported on the practice of Australian universities using recruitment agencies, some of which have found to be corrupt, to secure fee-paying international students to fill the gap left by a decline in funding from government (Besser & Cronau, 2015). Publicly funded universities are reported to have earned more than \$4.7 billion from full-fee paying international students in 2014 (Norton & Cakitaki, 2016, p.41). For example, at Sydney University, it is reported that international students now make up a quarter of all enrolments. At other universities like RMIT in Melbourne, they are said to comprise almost 50 per-cent of the cohort (Besser & Cronau, 2015). Reductions in government funding have

created pressure aimed at driving Australian universities to find replacement sources of revenue (Marginson, 2015). This is an example of how the Australian government has introduced the neoliberal practice of competition intensifying and consolidating a market mentality in higher education. The neoliberal belief, as previously discussed in the Australian Liberal Party Platform (2015), is that competition will create the diversification, efficiencies and productivity thought necessary to produce an appropriately skilled workforce ready for the rhetoric or reality of inevitable global economic competition (Petersen & Davies, 2010).

The competition between universities for international fee-paying students has contributed to a significant change in the role of the student. Fredman & Doughney (2012) suggest the new positioning of students as consumers and customers and the context of managerialist practice and discourse in relation to work relations, affects the work of academics. Students as consumers are encouraged to focus on ensuring their individual capacity to compete in a precarious job market, as opposed to pursuing the goals of becoming more broadly educated scholars and citizens who may both benefit from education and contribute to society.

This section discussed how other scholars have identified the presence and impacts of the ideology and practices of colonialism and neoliberalism such as competition and marketisation on Australian social work education. This provides useful detail about the ideology and practices of neoliberalism, and some broader context, to assist in the exploration of the data in later chapters for the detail of how and where the social relations of ruling Australian social work education actually occur.

Social work education, the AASW and organisational discourses

In this section, I draw on the literature to provide an exploration of how the meta-ideologies identified at the institutional context level of Australian social work education (neoliberalism, colonialism, whiteness, and patriarchies) are currently understood as influencing organisational discourses in Australian social work education.

From its earliest beginnings, the AASW made claims regarding the centrality of social justice to the profession of social work, and to the vision and objectives of the organisation

itself (Lawrence, 1965; AASW, 2016b). The national level of the AASW formed in 1946 and functions as the national association for 'professional' social workers (AASW, 2016). One aspect of being considered a 'professional' social worker by the AASW is having completed a social work course that is accredited by them. The AASW represents less than half of all qualified social workers in Australia with a membership of some 10 000 (AASW, 2016). There is little existing research that directly addresses why over half of the professionally qualified social workers in Australia who would be eligible, are not members of the AASW. Philip Mendes (2015) suggests that since 1976 when the industrial function of the AASW was handed over to the newly created Australian Social Welfare (ASWU), the AASW has only attracted a minority of social workers as members.

Despite not representing the majority of social workers, the AASW make confident statements about their role, and the role of social work, in their publications and regulatory documents. For example, two core regulatory documents, the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* and the AASW (2012) *ASWEAS*, outline that 'principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work' (AASW, 2010, p.7; AASW, 2012, p.7). The AASW's current stated role and vision as described on their website emphasises their role in establishing standards for professional social work and advocating for social inclusion, social justice and human rights (AASW, 2016). The rhetoric and understandings of social justice and human rights in social work are often entwined. Social work students and social workers have reported finding the goals of social justice and human rights nebulous (Agllias, 2010; Nipperess, 2013). In her Australian study, Sharlene Nipperess (2013) found that despite the profession's stated commitment to human rights, social work education played a limited role in contributing to the participants' understanding of the concept of human rights.

Social work in Australia is reported to be a racialised, predominately white (Walter, Taylor, & Habibis 2011), gendered, 80 percent female (Healy & Lonne, 2010, p.50), and mostly middle-class (Huppatz, 2012) occupation. However, compared with most other university courses, social work has 'higher proportions of students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, and students with disabilities' (Healy & Lonne, 2010, p.45). In addition, social work courses have a higher representation of students from what are categorised as 'low socio-economic

backgrounds', compared with many other university courses, especially those in allied health (Healy & Lonne, 2010).

Colonial ideology

The majority of 'professional' social workers in Australia are white Euro-Australians (Healy & Lonne, 2010; Walter, et al., 2013). In order to be a 'professional' social worker, the AASW requires a person to hold a social work qualification from a course accredited by them. The few written accounts of the national history of social work, and of the AASW, in Australia appear to reflect the relations of colonialism. I suggest this is the case, as these accounts are not contextually situated as relating to the development of white-Euro social work by settlers in a colonised country (Lawrence, 1965; Mendes, 2005; Miller, 2016). White-Euro Australian scholar, Susan Young (2004), is one of the few social work scholars to discuss the development of social work in Australia in the context of whiteness. Young (2004, p.106), identifies the beginnings of social work are found 'in the same conditions which led to the colonisation of this country, the development of capitalism, the Industrial Revolution, and the White desire of Europe to shape the globe in its own image'.

White-Euro Australian social work commenced in Australia in the 1920s (Lawrence, 1965). The white-Euro nature of the AASW, founded in 1946, is reflected in the passing of 58 years before the AASW issued a Statement of Apology to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples acknowledging that:

The historical actions of non-Indigenous social workers as government agents and instruments of government policy... have contributed to the destabilisation and disempowerment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families and communities (AASW, 2004, p.1).

Historically, few Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social workers have joined or remained active members of the AASW (Bennett, 2015). Since 2010, the AASW has revised core regulatory documents aiming to increase 'the profession's focus on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander worldviews and practices' (Zubrzycki et al., 2014, p.7). These endeavours are generally viewed as encouraging. It is noted, however, these recent efforts by the AASW will

require ongoing focus, and targeting of political and resource implementation efforts to effect significant change (Bennett & Zubrzycki, 2003; Briskman, 2008; Green & Baldry, 2008; Bennett, et al., 2011; Bennett, et al., 2013; Zuchowski, Savage, Miles & Gair, 2013).

A study conducted in 2012 (Bennett, 2015) reported that: the AASW was unable to provide exact numbers of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander members; the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Committee established in 2009 was inactive; and in 2013 the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander designated board position was vacant. The AASW, and Australian social work more broadly, 'has yet to fully engage with an understanding of itself as racialised and to explore what this might mean for practice' (Young cited in Walter, et al., 2011, p.12) and for how social justice and social injustice are conceived and enacted.

Social work in Australia is identified as having been 'involved in and has colluded in racist, patronising, and unjust practices' (Green & Baldry, 2008). The relationship between social work and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples has 'gone through some bleak patches, due in large part to colonisation and the role social workers played in the removal of children' (Bennett, 2015, p.19). Social workers witness, and remain involved in, the impacts and ongoing processes of colonialism within the institutions of welfare in organisations with mandates including education, children protection, juvenile justice, corrections, health, detention, substance use and mental illness.

Maggie Walter, Sandra Taylor and Daphne Habibis (2013) suggest that social work needs to engage with whiteness theory (Young, 2004; 2008). As a theoretical and practical lens, whiteness theory aids investigation in this current study of the regulatory power of the AASW and the core curriculum it prescribes for Australian social work, and in the investigation of the policies and practices of RU. Young (2008, p.103) proposes that whiteness theory provides 'a description of how privilege is raced and invisible: a method of unsettling this privilege; and it offers guidance for more inclusive and respectful human relationships'. Whiteness theory assists in the process of decolonisation, that Aboriginal scholars, Sue Green and Eileen Baldry (2008, p.397) suggest involves 'overturning the dominant way of seeing the world and representing realities in ways that do not replicate colonial values'. Decolonisation for non-Indigenous people requires them (us) to:

deconstruct the views, beliefs, and prejudices the colonising group has perpetuated regarding the colonised, to understand what forms of oppression and unjust treatment have been and are imposed by the coloniser, and to work at removing these from their attitudes and actions (Green & Baldry, 2008, p.397).

Importantly, as a white-Euro Australian social work educator, aiming to work for decolonisation in myself, and in social work theory, research, pedagogy and practice, I strive to enact the advice of Aboriginal Australian social work academic, Christine Fejo-King (2013, p.24), that when non-Indigenous people engage with Indigenous Knowledge, they must 'resist the colonisation of it'. I am aware that for myself, and in my experience for many other white people, this is hard. Even those committed to decolonisation find 'lurking' within them the historical white, masculine 'non-relational' epistemology that presumes the best knowing comes from the 'deep core of separation, domination and control lurking in western knowledge systems' (Arbon, 2008b, p.140). As pointed out by Ann Joselynn Baltra-Ulloa (2013; 2014), the decolonisation of social work happens alongside colonisation. Drawing from this literature, I aim to be vigilant to summon humility and critical reflexivity acknowledging social work as a racialised project in its Australian context, realising there is no neutral coloniser position. These processes may increase my ability to position myself as learning with and from, and being accountable to, the works of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australian social workers, and minority background Australian social workers, about how and what to contribute to decolonising social work in Australia. Otherwise, there is the risk that (even) well-intentioned Euro-white social workers, academics and researchers (like me) will (continue to) colonise the efforts to decolonise social work.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australian peoples are described by Green and Baldry (2008, p.397) as also being in a process of decolonisation, involving 'throwing off of the colonial mentality ... where there is a process of recognition of past and present cultural, community, and spiritual strengths independent from and in spite of the colonial oppression'.

Discourse of professional imperialism

Western social work can be seen to have been active in the creation and expansion of an

international market for its knowledge products that has seen the spread of the education of social workers to 125 of the 196 countries in the world (Barretta-Herman, Leung, Littlechild, Parada & Wairire, 2016).

In the early twentieth century, the colonial projects, particularly of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, introduced western social welfare ideologies, systems and practices to other countries (Kreitzer, Abukari, Antonio, Mensah & Kwaku, 2009). The colonised countries had indigenous, traditional social support and helping systems, many including ideologies and arrangements based on religion and spirituality, inter-dependence, kinship, community responsibility, reciprocity, sociality, mutual need, and harmony with the earth and all living creatures (Yip, 2004; Kreitzer, et al., 2009). Through funding, aid work, seminars, training, exchange schemes and technical assistance, the United Nations (UN) is said to have played a central role in continuing the transfer of western social work to so-called developing countries (Nagpaul, 1993; Gray, 2005). There has been contestation of the appropriateness of the transfer of western social work education to other countries, and to non-western cultures. James Midgley (1981) captured this in his seminal book, *Professional Imperialism: Social Work in the Third World*. There is also debate about the appropriateness of models developed by western people in countries like the United States of America being applicable for western peoples in Australia and elsewhere (Healy, Rimmer, & Ife, 1986; McDonald, et al., 2003; Gray & Fook, 2004).

There are significant differences in how social work and social work education is understood and constructed across within and across diverse population groups and countries in the context of historical relations (Healy & Lonne, 2010; Barretta-Herman, et al., 2016). This is one of the reasons for the contestation in current debates regarding the development of global social work education standards.

The neoliberal economic belief in the benefit of growth, massification of the education system to enable international competition is reflected in the significant increase in the number of social work courses and graduates in Australia. In the 1970s, six tertiary organisations with relatively small numbers of graduates offered social work education. By 2004, there were 22 Schools of Social Work comprising approximately 3500 students with

1000 graduates per year and approximately 14000 people with degrees in social work in the workforce (Camilleri, 2005). From 1989 to 2006 social work bachelor-level students doubled from 3389 to 6787 (Healy & Lonne, 2010, p.43) and in 2009 there was an estimated 17000 people employed as social workers (Healy & Lonne, 2010, p.38). Currently, 32 of Australia's 43 universities offer degree level qualifications accredited by the AASW (AASW, 2016a).

The programs currently delivering social work courses in Australian universities have experienced an overall reduction in public funding of universities. Social work schools or courses, however, experience this reduction in funding differently, dependant on the historical status, wealth and focus of the university they are part of, and the income and disposition of the faculty they belong to (Napier & George, 2001; Healy & Lonne, 2010). A scan of university websites confirms there has been an exit of social work courses from being located in arts and social sciences faculties to now being predominately in health faculties in Australian universities. The adverse impacts on social work education of the influence of the medical discourse that underpins much of health education and funding priorities, has been discussed by social work educators at many forums in Australia (for example, ANZSWWER 2017, National Field Educators Networking Meetings, 2014, 2015, 2016). This trend has been discussed by social work academic, Carolyn Hanesworth (2017, p. 43), in the American context who argues 'the dismantling of the liberal arts tradition in higher education weakens social work's core educational foundation at a time when social injustice is rapidly expanding'. In the case of Australia, social work suffers the effects of both the dismantling of liberal arts in higher education and the move from arts to health faculties where the medical discourse is dominant.

Discourses of social justice and professionalism

From America, Jeffrey Olson (2001; 2007) considers the role of professional social work associations. Olson (2001; 2007) makes a significant contribution to outlining reasons for the apparent disjuncture between the prominence of the discourse of social justice claimed by most [western] social work national and international bodies, and the lack of work for social justice that these key organisations, and many social workers, actually do. Olson (2007) suggests a core reason for this disconnect between rhetoric and action is the

meshing of the two main projects of [western] social work: the social justice project and the professional project. The social justice project is concerned with changing the conditions that create systems of injustice resulting in human suffering. Olson (2007, p.45) indicates the professional project locates 'social work as a profession in a system of professions in competition with one another for jurisdictional turf'. Olson (2007, p.45) maintains the result of the enmeshment of these two projects is that 'social justice discourses are rendered instrumental vehicles of the professional project'. The reason that the social justice project becomes instrumental and subservient to the professional project is cited by Olson (2007, p. 46) as social work narrowing its focus to achieve the perceived 'legitimacy and respectability' needed to be a 'profession'.

In the Australian context, education and social work scholars have identified the significance of the institutional move from the welfare state to the workfare or neoliberal state (for example, Blackmore, 2014; McDonald, 2006b). White-Euro Australian social work academic, Catherine McDonald (2006b, p.25) locates [white-Euro] Australian social work education as a 'professional project' whose congruent fit with the modernist welfare state of the past has been 'fractured' by the impacts of 'economic globalisation, neo-classical economics and neo-liberal politics'. As explained by McDonald (2006a, p.87) the professional project is a 'set of strategic activities of a group of people located within and responding to a particular set of (historical) circumstances'. In relation to social work, the professional project refers to:

the various activities undertaken and characteristics projected by those wishing to propel the idea that a collective entity called "social work" existed (and still exists). Although the claims asserted throughout the exercise of the professional project rarely explicitly acknowledge it, the professional project is political in the sense that it is fundamentally concerned with erecting boundaries that exert a degree of distinction and create a border between those on the inside and those on the outside (McDonald, 2006a, pp.87-88).

Coming from a human rights and community development perspective, white-Euro Australian social work academic, Jim Ife (2012), identifies describing social work as a

‘profession’ as contentious. In outlining the nature of this contention, Ife (2012) suggests one strand of the debate considers professionalism as inconsistent with empowering practice as it imbues the professional social worker with expert status derived from a desired exclusive knowledge base. Another strand holds that professionalism provides status that enables social workers to be more effective in advocating for change and social justice. Ife (2012) goes on to describe differences in how understandings of professionalism reflect the emphases in work of national level professional associations, such as the AASW. According to Ife (2012, p.283), some associations place more emphases on ‘maintaining professional standards, professional exclusivity, accreditation, ethics and boundaries’ and ‘providing social workers with opportunities for continuing education and support’ (the professional project). Other national level professional social work associations are said (Ife 2012, p.282) to emphasise ‘representing the voice of social workers in social issues and policy matters’ (the social justice project). Ife (2012, p.283) also identifies the importance for professional social work associations to ‘reflect human rights principles in its own structures and practices. This requires it to pay attention to issues of inclusivity and to guard against practices that exclude certain people from becoming social workers’.

In a recent edited book, white-Euro Australian academic, currently based in England, Stephen Webb (2017) also analyses what being a social work ‘professional’ means. Webb (2017, p.31) draws attention to how the notion of ‘autonomous professional practice’ is inscribed ‘within a network of accountability and professional conduct which is governed at a distance’. Further, Webb (2017, p.31) argues that the ‘quest for professionalism reveals disciplinary control. Professionalism can be understood as a disciplinary technique, one largely exercised through the label “being professional”’. In contrast to the more usual unquestioning acceptance of being a professional as a necessary good thing, Webb directly addresses the limitations and invitations to compliance invoked in being a professional. Applying Webb’s (2017) and Olsen’s (2007) analysis reveals how the ‘professionalism’ discourse, as embedded in texts, manages and disciplines social work students, social work academics, and social workers. This disciplining is achieved through encouragement and regulation of the development of self-images, professional identities that are more congruent with the dominant discourses of the professional project rather than of social justice.

Ping Kwon Kam (2014) takes up Olson's work arguing the 'social' in social work entails applying a commitment to work in solidarity with others. Kam (2014) identifies the individualising forces within the neo-liberal social change of the 'professional project' (Olson, 2007) of social work. Kam (2014) contends that professional social work associations seek government acknowledgement, registration and resources by aiming to demonstrate legitimacy, knowledge and expertise commensurate with other 'traditional' professions. Kam (2014) asserts this sort of worth is measured through 'evidence-based practice' that tends to promote individual therapies, perceived as producing outcomes more quantifiable within the short-term cycles of governing and funding. These forces of neo-liberalism and the 'professional project' are cited by Kam (2014, pp.728-729) as having accelerated social work's drift away from the 'social' in social work to individual therapies and to have eroded knowledge of, and commitment to, the 'social justice project'.

This work on professionalism frames exploration in the current research to explore for any tensions between how the AASW, as the professional association said to represent social work in Australia, takes up the 'professional project' and the 'social justice project'

Discourses of equity and inclusion

Many social work courses in Australia, especially those located in the newer and regional universities, have actively sought to recruit those people and groups not already proportionally represented, or over-represented, in the university. These groups of people and students who have been previously, and currently, excluded from higher education are those who have not been privileged in Australia, but rather have been discriminated against and oppressed. Discrimination and oppression in Australia has been well documented based on race/ethnicity/nationality/culture (for example, AIHW, 2009; Markus, 2011; VicHealth, 2012) gender (for example, AHRC, 2011; Mitchell, 2011); social class (for example, Di Bartolo, 2005; Pearce, Down & Moore, 2008; Hosken, 2016); disability (for example, Lamont, 2009; VEOHRC, 2012) and sexual orientation (for example, AHRC, 2011; La Nauze, 2015). This discrimination and oppression are considered by many critical researchers to be primary, or contributing, causes of inequality, poverty, homelessness, unemployment and under-education (for example, Hosken, 2013; Pease, Goldingay, Hosken & Nipperess, 2016).

This calibrates with the finding of the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC, 2012, p.17) of 'the well-established link between discrimination and disadvantage ...and life chances'.

The importance for previously excluded groups of students to be able to see their social locations including race, ethnicity, gender and class represented in curricula and pedagogy, and in academic staff profiles, has received minimal attention in Australian social work literature (some exceptions include, Gair, Miles & Thomson, 2005; Hosken, 2010; Walter, et al., 2011). While acknowledging that the curriculum and pedagogy of Australian social work is evolving, Walter, Taylor & Habibis (2013, p.237) draw on Susan Young's (2004, p.104) argument that Australian social work lacks engagement and understanding of 'itself as racialised' to make the assessment that 'a significant 'whiteness gap' remains. In regards to the staffing of social work schools, the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) (2004) requires that all schools of social work should:

Reflect[s] aspiration towards equity with regard to the demographic profile of the institution's locality. The core purpose or mission statement should thus incorporate such issues as ethnic and gender representation on the faculty, as well as in recruitment and admission procedures for students.

Interestingly, the IFSW's examples of equity are restricted to ethnicity and gender, thus serving to exclude or reduce focus on other areas of social division such as class, disability and sexual orientation. Although the AASW is a member of the IFSW, there is no similar mirror regulation requiring Australian social work schools to achieve equity of parity between the demographic profile of staff, the student body and the population in the university's locality.

There is limited data regarding the ethnic profile of social work academic staff in Australia, and even less regarding class, disability and sexual orientation. There is a dearth of readily available data to investigate if Australian schools of social work might comply with the IFSW requirement that the staff profile of social work schools should reflect the demographic profile of locality. One of the few studies (Agbim & Ozanne, 2007) to report on the demographics of Australian social work educators found that in 2005, 76% of the social

work academic population were female, but men were disproportionately represented in senior positions and under-represented in lower ranks. Looking at the Australian academic workforce more broadly, a large survey (Bexley, James, & Arkoudis, 2011b) reports most academics in Australia are non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australian born (61.8%); .9% are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians; and 38.2% were born overseas. The major groups of overseas born academics are from UK and Ireland (30.4%) then New Zealand (15.8%) and Mainland EU Nations (14.2%). This data demonstrates that the ethnic profile of Australian academics, although changing, is still predominately white. This is understood by anti-colonial and decolonising critical scholars as a legacy, or continuance, of colonialism which was seen as extending 'civilisation' to rationalise the self-defined hierarchy of the racial and cultural supremacy of the western world over the non-western world (Moreton-Robinson, 2004b; Larkin, 2011a; Smith, 2012).

The welfare state context, and the profession of social work, in Australia has been identified in the critical scholarly literature as gendered (Weeks, 1994; Crawford & Leitmann, 2001; Pease, 2011; Huppertz & Goodwin, 2013), classed (Musgrove, 2004; Mendes, 2005; Huppertz, 2010; Mullaly, 2010; Peel, 2011; Hosken, 2016) and racialised (Briskman, 2007; Walter, et al., 2011; Young & Zubrzycki, 2011; Zufferey, 2012; Testa & Egan, 2013). This current research builds on the work of these scholars to provide an Australian study that commences investigation from differently socially located social work student and social work academic informants in a local Australian university.

Changes in the social justice discourse?

There is a substantial social work scholarship to draw from to consider what social work is and what sorts of social justice it does or should seek. The definition, history and purpose of social work in Australia is contested. Social work remains enmeshed in reconfigurations of colonialism, 'postcolonizing relations' (Moreton-Robinson, 2003, p.27), immigration, social and political histories, welfare and local and global contexts (Lawrence, 1965; Moreton-Robinson, 2004b; Mendes, 2005; Walter et al., 2011; Baltra-Ulloa, 2013; Bennett et al., 2013; Larkin, 2016). The small number of formal accounts that specifically focus on the development of professional social work in Australia have been written by western social

work academics or historians and focus on periods after British colonisation (for example, Lawrence, 1965; Crawford & Leitmann, 2001; Mendes, 2005). These publications do not directly address the relationships between colonisation, the dispossession of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, the presence or nature of indigenous knowledge including healing, wellbeing and helping systems, the use of western social work more generally in colonial and imperialist agendas, or the development of Anglophone social work in Australia (Larkin, 2011b, 2016). As Briskman (2008, p.90) states 'the rise of social work rarely mentions the existence and genius of Indigenous forms of social work that existed before and after colonization'.

There is a tendency, as identified by Philip Mendes (2005), for general Australian social work texts to be underpinned by unsubstantiated assertions of an essential goodness in their historical and contemporary descriptions of social work in commitment and actions for social justice (for example, Alston & McKinnon, 2001; Chenoweth & McAuliffe, 2015). There is also an unstated assumption in many general Australian social work texts that the social worker is white (Walter et al., 2011). A small number of publications have discussed the more sinister side to the history of the social control function of social work in Australia (for example, Birch, 1996; Musgrove, 2003, 2004; Larkin, 2011b; Peel, 2011).

I agree with the view articulated by Vasilios Ioakimidis (2013, p.188), of the necessity for social work to reflect on our/their histories, 'even the grimmest chapters', or 'we risk the possibility of re-experiencing some of the ugliest cases in social work history'. For example, in Australia there are concerns that professional white-Euro Australian social work and social workers have not learned from their/our historical involvement in the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families during the period of Assimilation policy (1910-1970) resulting in the 'Stolen Generations' (AASW, 2004). The over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in child protection and in the out-of-home care systems continues to increase (AIHW, 2016). Child protection and out-of-home care are located within state government organisations, or in non-government organisations funded by government. These organisations actively recruit social work students to undertake placements (for example, DHHS, 2016) and employ many social workers (Healy & Lonne, 2010).

The debate about the role of social work and social justice continued during the critique of the 2000/01 global definition of social work. A review auspiced by the IFSW and the IASSW updated the definition in 2014. Ioakimidis (2013) suggests the first draft of the new definition removed the term 'social justice' altogether. This is reported (Ioakimidis, 2013) to be, in part, a response to requests from the Asia-Pacific regional association of the IASSW arguing for greater recognition of concerns including indigenisation, spirituality and cultural difference. Ioakimidis (2013, p.196) draws on examples in China and Japan to caution that uncritical acceptance of 'top-down' calls to prioritise indigenous knowledges, stability and harmony over work for social justice can serve to gloss over 'structural problems, class divisions and political contradictions rife in social work across the globe'. The new definition is said to have sought a way through the debates and reads as follows:

Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing (IFSW, 2014).

There are different ways to understand this newer definition. A concern is that the uncertainty may mean this 'eclectic definition... could be interpreted in various convenient ways' (Ioakimidis, 2013, p.196). Others argue for an interpretation of this as a more overtly political definition of social work with a new emphasis on collective work grounded in understanding the impacts of structural influences on society and people, over the past emphasis on individualised work influenced by psychological understandings of people and problems (Ornellas, Spolander, & Engelbrecht, 2016). Part of the debate regarding the definition of social work relates to the different views regarding what the stated commitment to social justice actually means or requires of social workers.

What sort of social justice for Australian social work?

An article by Australian social work academic, John Solas (2008), titled 'What kind of social justice does social work seek?' reignited a robust and ongoing debate within western social work as to both the nature of social work and of its stated concern for social justice (Hugman, 2008; Ife, 2008; Solas, 2008). Solas (2008) argued that minimalist schemes of social justice were inadequate for social work, such as utilitarianism (promote the greatest happiness for the greatest number) and libertarianism (social work helps individuals within the overall order of the minimal role of the state to protect rights of individuals to liberty and lawful accumulation). Instead, Solas promoted radical social work for a social justice involving an equality of 'radical egalitarianism'. Richard Hugman (2008) responded with a defence of the focus on the more minimalist position of equity as social justice that both he and Solas saw as being at the core of the then AASW (1999) Code of Ethics. It was telling that these scholars did not directly, or substantially, address in these pivotal articles how their preferred versions of social justice for social work included or excluded indigenous perspectives and decolonisation. The articles also did not overt the epistemological positions of the authors, thereby reducing the opportunity to reflect on how the author's own culture and ways of thinking may have influenced their respective positions on social justice. There was no discussion of how the vision for the social justice of social work could benefit from Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander peoples as potential contributors and creators of knowledge for social work.

One way to consider the relevance of the debate between Solas and Hugman is to locate their positions within a recent synthesis of paradigms of social work offered by Abigail Ornellas, Gary Spolander and Lambert Engelbrecht (2016). They synthesise four key predominant western ontological frameworks identified within international social work theory typologies offered by social work scholars, David Howe (1987), Malcom Payne (1997), Lena Dominelli (2002) and Paul Garrett (2013). These frameworks mainly precede the discussions of indigenisation, indigenous perspectives and decolonisation in social work. Ornellas et al. (2016) argue the frameworks include consideration of a key tension raised in the indigenisation debate of individualism versus collectivism. However, this seems to be a limited consideration. I provide an outline of the four hybrid social work frameworks with a short summary of their focus as bracketed below:

interpretivist-therapeutic framework [individual change and psychological functioning], the individual-reformist framework [meeting individual needs within the dominant system], the neoliberal-managerialist framework [social work as a business aimed at empowering individuals to foster their own well-being] and the socialist-collectivist framework [empowerment only possible through social transformation via individual and collective strategies]...Adoption of these hybrid frameworks is underpinned by an understanding of how social problems originate, how best to achieve aims such as social justice and well-being, and the nature of the social work role in society (Ornellas et al. 2016, pp.7-10).

Ornellas et al. (2016) outline a key debate in the perceived ability for social work to be eclectic. On the one hand, Payne and Askeland (2008) argue that social work does and can use a mixture of the frameworks outlined above depending on organisational context and expectations. In contrast, Garrett (2013) maintains that the differing perspectives are in direct conflict and are, therefore, not able to be cherry picked or mixed and matched.

These debates between the individual and collective perspectives of social work, the nature of social justice embedded within and excluded by the four frameworks and the nature of possible overlaps, are useful to consider how social justice and social injustice are experienced and coordinated in the work of the three informants. The examination of the data in Chapters 4-7 analyses these issues in more detail.

Some argue that the engagement with the business discourse in higher education and social work sectors has relied on those leading these organisations identifying or accepting that business thinking and practice are useful or necessary 'expertise as a resource in a struggle for power' (Harris, 2003, p.5) and, or how things must be if the organisations 'are to survive in the future' (Rowlands, 2016, p.143). This is taken up in this study, where I draw on desktop data, narrative and textual data to explicate tensions and differences between the formal accounts of the organisation of the governance of the AASW and RU and the experiences of social work student and social work academic informants as they study and work.

IDEOLOGICAL CODES

African American feminist poet and activist, Audre Lorde (1999, p.362), assists in understanding more about the work of standardised, dominant norms in her description of a 'mythical norm' as 'a stereotype that is perpetuated by society, against which everyone else is measured'. In a similar vein, white American sociologist, Joan Acker has provided extensive empirical and conceptual work on the organisational assumption of a 'disembodied and universal' (Acker, 1990, p.139) 'abstract' (Acker, 1990, p.151) seemingly 'gender neutral, unencumbered' (Acker, 2012, p.218) worker that, in fact, men are more able to fit the characteristics of (Acker, 2012). In addition to problematising the abstract worker in organisations, Acker (2006b, p.443) argues that all organisations have inequality regimes which are 'loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender, and racial inequalities within particular organizations'. Acker (2006b) notes the linking of these regimes in organisations to inequalities in their societal context including economics, politics, history and culture. Acker (2006b, p.443) defines inequality in organisations as:

systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes; workplace decisions such as how to organise work; opportunities for promotion and interesting work; security in employment and benefits; pay and other monetary rewards; respect; and pleasures in work and work relations.

The concepts of mythical norm and the abstract worker, and the inequality regimes of organisations, are drawn on in this study to assist in exploring how the ideological codes of 'the good social work student', 'the good social work lecturer', the 'good social work professor' and the 'good social worker' are organised and activated in the AASW and RU, and how these norms are coordinated by texts and ruling relations that occur elsewhere in their links to societal contexts.

CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis did not identify an empirical research focus on the systemic nature of inequality in social work education, nor the processes and practices that create these inequalities. Existing research has not paid sufficient attention to the multiple vantage points of individuals' unique contexts and experiences of social work education. There is a lack of research that investigates what relations of race, ethnicity, gender and class can reveal about the larger organisational and institutional practices and processes as privileging for some and discriminatory for others in social work education. This study uses and suggests institutional ethnography as an approach to research, relevant for social work, that 'bridge[s] the tension between structure and agency' (Pease, 2010, p.99).

In this chapter, I have drawn from the literature to understand contemporary Australian 'mainstream' organisations like RU and the AASW as complex; characterised by ongoing colonial relations of a material and subjective 'white institutional presence' (Gusa, 2010, p.471). The management of these sorts of organisations is suggested to involve negotiations of competing value positions shaped within a dominant institutional 'neo-liberal imaginary' (Rizvi & Lingard, 2011, p.6). Moreover, the higher education and welfare sectors have experienced increased government demands for accountability and contribution to economic productivity. The literature suggests that organisations like RU and the AASW may engage with the business discourse in higher education and social work sectors perceiving this as necessary 'expertise as a resource in a struggle for power' (Harris, 2003, p.5) and, or how things must be if the organisations 'are to survive in the future' (Rowlands, 2016, p.143).

The following chapter provides an overview of institutional ethnography as the framing research methodology I employed to discern how social injustice is organised in Australian social work education. This centres on reflexive, mutual ethnographic conversation interviews, autoethnographic narratives, observation and examination of texts.

CHAPTER THREE: USING INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY TO LOCATE SOCIAL INJUSTICE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I locate myself as the researcher responsible for this study. An outline is then provided of the foundations of institutional ethnography, the method in this study used to discover the social and ruling relations that shape social work education at an Australian university. Key conceptual terms, organisers and terminology associated with institutional ethnography are discussed. The reasons for the inclusion of mutual ethnography within the institutional ethnographic framework are explained. Next, I elaborate the inter-related research design, data collection process and analytical methods. I provide information about the key research processes that enabled me to learn about informants' experiences and activities relating to social work in higher education, which in turn provided the opportunity to uncover details about their social organisation and ruling arrangements.

LOCATING THE RESEARCH(ER) IN THIS STUDY

In positivist, scientific epistemology there is an emphasis on the importance of a neutral, objective stance as a method to eliminate subjective interpretations from the pursuit of knowledge. In contrast, feminist researchers generally contest the assumption that an objectivity free of social context is possible, and assert that this claim to objectivity often serves to conceal a privileged, dominant, white masculine bias. In line with other feminist researchers, rather than striving for objectivity, I commit to practice ongoing reflexivity aiming to recognise, examine and understand how my own social locations can influence this research (Hesse-Biber, 2014).

Institutional ethnography is a feminist research approach that uses reflexivity to monitor the effect of social locations on research. My social locations include being a female, state-schooled, white-Euro Australian, outwardly able-bodied, predominately heterosexually orientated, middle-aged, non-religious, social work academic and activist. I am aware of being a woman almost all the time. Other dimensions of my subjectivity seem prominent singularly or in combination, at different times dependent upon the context I am

in. Looking back, I was aware on some level as a younger person that the girls and women in my mostly white local suburb often experienced gender and class relations differently to the boys and men. This difference extended to some males perceiving themselves as middle-class, while some females from the same family or area perceived themselves as working-class. In my discussions and reading, I have maintained an interest in understanding more about the factors or processes that may account for the impact of gender in the different experiences and accounts of self and others' perceptions of class. Some of these processes that seem relevant to my own racial, gendered, classed and geographical locations include girls' experiences of: learning the relations of domestic production (Acker, 2006a; Craig & Mullan, 2011); learning the female fear (Gordon & Riger, 1989); learning that sexual assault is relatively 'normal' for girls and women in Australia (AHRC, 2008; Purdy & Levy, 2010); and being socialised by women and men who lived in an era of greater legal, social and economic privileging of white men and boys, and oppression of girls and women (Australian Women Against Violence Alliance, 2016). The cumulative impact of micro gendered-class aggressions (Hosken, 2016) are discussed in more detail in the analysis chapters.

I took these personal experiences and reflections with me into social work and decades later into teaching, and now this research project. As I learned more with South Sudanese Australian students at TAFE and then at university, I wondered about the singular and cumulative causes and impacts of their described experiences of daily micro and macro racial aggressions (Sue, 2010) and their other experiences of overt, sometimes physically and verbally abusive, racism (AHRC, 2012; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007a; Farah, 2008; 2009c; Bayou, 2016). When I talked with South Sudanese women, I wondered how relations of gender, race, nationality, ethnic grouping and class singularly and in combinations, simultaneously produced and experienced from contexts in South Sudan and in Australia, affected their experiences of education where I was teaching.

OVERVIEW OF INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY AS THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The framing methodological approach of this research project as an institutional ethnography is based on the work of Dorothy E. Smith (1990a; 1990b; 2005; 2006b).

Institutional ethnography is a feminist, qualitative, critical, public sociological method of

inquiry. A Canadian sociologist, Smith first developed institutional ethnography in the 1980s as part of an:

alternate sociology that combines Marx's materialist method and Garfinkel's ethnomethodology with insights from the feminist practice of consciousness-raising that ...in different ways all ground inquiry in the ongoing activities of actual individuals (DeVault, 2006, p.16).

Institutional ethnography and ethnomethodology both pay attention to local experience and knowledge. Yet, institutional ethnography is different in that people and their experiences are not the object of analysis but, rather, are the entry point into understanding organisational processes (Smith, 1990a). The focus of institutional ethnography is to locate the organisational linkages between individuals in social relations, whereas ethnomethodology is mainly interested in individuals or conversation partners. Unlike ethnomethodology, the ontology of institutional ethnography is materialist in the sense that social organisation is explored through the actual practices of individuals and the interaction of those practices through texts (Smith, 2005). One of the key differences between ethnomethodology and institutional ethnography is Smith's (1990a) expansion of the concept of social relations and relations of ruling, as explained below. Institutional ethnography is differentiated from most anthropological or sociological ethnography by the emphasis it places on texts in investigation and analysis, particularly in the understanding of the role of texts in coordinating and activating people's activities (Bisaillon & Rankin, 2012).

Institutional ethnography aims to reveal how the current actualities of social worlds are coordinated. In this approach, the social is defined as 'the coordination of people's activities across time and place as set within patterns of social relations' (Bisaillon, 2012b, p. 97). Marjorie DeVault's (2013, p.332) description of institutional ethnography as a 'feminist sociology of institutional power', locates the methodology among those that seek to transform organisations and the practices of people that inhabit them.

Standpoint

Rather than starting in theoretical explanations, institutional ethnography commences from the material events of peoples' lives. Analysis in institutional ethnography begins from the standpoints of those affected by issues to find out how their everyday lives are connected to the larger, transnational political, economic and social relations, structures and ideologies. Exploring for the detail in how things are put together reveals the particularity of how local social relations in workplaces, organisations and institutions (such as transnational corporates, the state, law, welfare, education, media and family) are connected to, and shaped by, what Smith (1990b) calls the 'relations of ruling', a term explained in more detail below. This is not intended to be deterministic.

The task of this institutional ethnographic study is to map and analyse the particularities of how social work education is connected to, and shaped by, the relations of ruling. The aim is to show how the social work student and social work academic informants become implicated in the social relations of higher education. As social work educators and students begin to understand more about how their work is coordinated and organised within those social relations, they may be better informed and supported to organise to resist the hegemony imposed (Campbell & Gregor, 2004).

The sociology of Smith's (2005) institutional ethnography joins materialist (concrete economic and social conditions as understood within historical formations) and discursive (language and discourse) elements, using theorised methods that look at the 'actualities of everyday life' (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.17). This sociology acknowledges the importance of language and discourse, however, it also 'preserves the analytic significance of an embodied and agentic subject in a material world' (DeVault, 2013, p.333). The method of the research includes exploration of the 'social world as it is known experientially, through people's activities or doings in the actual local situations and conditions of our lives' (Smith, 2007, p.411). The idea is to discover and map that world so that those in it can more easily see how it is put together (Smith, 2007, p.411).

Marjorie DeVault and Liza McCoy (2002, p.19) claim that 'institutional ethnographers generally have critical or liberatory goals; they undertake research in order to reveal the

ideological and social processes that produce experiences of subordination'. The sociology and practice of institutional ethnography is well suited to exploring how and where translocal ruling relations are constructed, deployed and taken up in local settings to obviate the experiences and knowledge of academics, students, service users and social workers from explanations of social problems.

Institutional ethnographic research commences from a sense of disjuncture, from the 'standpoint of the people whose experiences are at issue' (Campbell & Manicom, 2015, p.6). Standpoint is understood as occurring within the 'historical trajectory' of the relations of ruling (Smith, 2005, p.13). The views from these standpoints are not presented as pure windows to 'truth' or 'reality' but rather a place to start investigation (Smith, 1987).

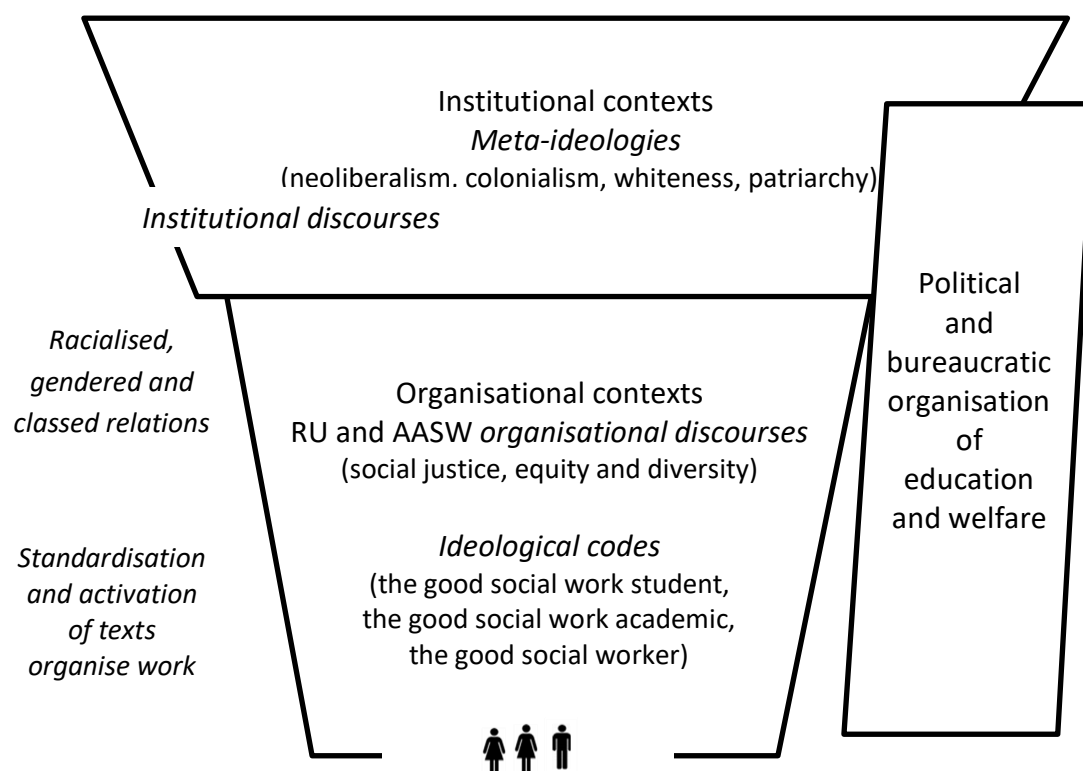
The researcher's purpose in institutional ethnography is not to generalise about the people's experiences from where the research starts, but to:

find and describe social processes that have generalising effects...to disclose features of ruling that operate across many local settings...institutional ethnographies can fit together...because they share the same organizing ontology and the same focus on generalising processes of ruling (DeVault, 2006, p.18).

The concept of standpoint, how it is applied in institutional ethnography, was illustrated in a diagram produced by Dorothy Smith (2006, p 3) called 'woman standpoint drawing'. It showed a female (mother and university academic) looking up at a complex of social and ruling relations that organised her experience. Smith (2006, p.3) described her sense of disjuncture, asking herself 'how is that that academic discourse on the well-being of families led by single parents does not coincide with my experience?' Smith then commenced to locate and analyse the social relations that exist between single parenthood and educational institutions. This process of looking, investigating, and uncovering the features and inter-relationships of the socially organised ruling relations such as discourses on single parenthood, professional competency, and government social and economic policies on the family — all of which Smith is involved in as an active participant - was captured in her diagram of a woman who 'looks up through [an institutional] complex from her standpoint, discovering just how it works so that she is engaged as she is' (Smith, 2006, p.3).

In this research project, I adapt Smith's diagram below (Diagram 2. Social work student and social work academic standpoint informant) to illustrate how I commenced the investigation from the standpoints of three differently located key informants to investigate why the discourses of social justice and equity and diversity did not coincide with their experiences. Drawing on the standpoint informants' experiences of work, I then locate and analyse where and how the social relations of race, gender and class are within the ideologies, discourses and texts at institutional, organisational and individual levels that organise and activate their work to happen in the ways it does.

Diagram 2. Social work student and social work academic standpoint informant



KEY METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL TERMS USED IN INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Institutional ethnographers are cautioned to provide a more comprehensive account of their methodology than what might be necessary for a more conventional research approach (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.55). For this reason, detailed explanation is provided regarding how central terms are used in this sociological method.

The problematic

First, the *problematic* focuses the research in a manner that starts from the lived experiences of the informants to inform the research study and the methods that are chosen to draw out the information needed to map the ruling relations. The problematic is a 'conceptual research tool' (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.49); people and researchers often find a problematic in the recognition of the moment, or moments, that 'something chafes' (2004, p.48.) This is described as the issue of 'disjuncture between different versions of reality', knowing something from an experiential versus a ruling perspective (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.48). The problematic is then used to decide the relevant methods for collecting information and then identifying texts that transmit ruling relations. The process of mapping the ruling relations assists in making them visible, enabling the ruling relations to be named and discussed in their detail and containment in policies, procedures and practices, verbal and textual.

In this thesis, the chafe had begun for me as an educator in the TAFE system involved in the experiences and observations of discriminatory educational practices and processes with a focus on myself as a white teacher in a white specialised (Gusa, 2010) and white epistemologically (Arbon, 2008b) oriented TAFE, teaching with South Sudanese Australian students. These experiences at TAFE, the chafe, was a culmination of my own social location socialisation (gender, race, class, sexual orientation, dis/ability, religious) and personal and work experiences, particularly as a social worker in direct practice for over 20 years. I wrote about this 'chafe' in 'my' first ever publication (Hosken, 2010). From this point, the nature of the problematic developed, broadening and deepening over time, as learning occurred with the informants about social locations and experiences of the systems of race, class and gender in the organisations studied.

Social relations

Second, *social relations* are understood as, 'concerted sequences or courses of social action implicating more than one individual who are not necessarily known to one another' (DeVault, 2006, p.294). The term taken in its Marxist sense to mean connections among work processes rather than relationships. Understanding textual arrangements is

considered essential in institutional ethnography where texts are defined broadly to include 'words, images, or sounds that are set into a material form of some kind from which they can be read, seen, heard, watched, and so on' (Smith, 2006b, p.66).

Texts

Third, *texts* connect the local with the translocal ruling relations. Overall, texts serve as coordinators of the work and lived experiences of the informants because they formulate a process. Texts can exist in various forms as incorporated in this study: university related meeting agendas and minutes, templates, policy documents, codes of ethics, regulations, websites, books, reports, news items, emails, memos, advertisements, and more. Smith emphasises the importance of examining texts, and locating the 'hierarchal organisation of intertextual relations' due to their key role in organising social relations and therefore in shaping the lived experiences of workers (Smith, 1990b).

It is argued that people activate texts and then act to make their experiences, their actualities, fit into the regulatory frames contained in the texts (Smith, 1990b). If there is no way to transform people's actual experiences into the institutional frame and categories, then those experiences do not exist for the institution, they are experiences not able to be recognised or counted.

Ideological codes and discourses

In chapter 2, I drew on the literature, and my own teaching experience, to outline the rationale for adapting Smith's (1993; 1999) schema from three to four inter-related levels of discourse to include; ideological codes, organisational discourses, institutional discourses and meta-ideological discourses. *Ideological codes* are identified by Smith (1993; 1999) as interpretive schemas that can replicate their means of assembling information in response to universalised images/ideals across multiple sites. Such ideological codes can exert a 'significant political effect by importing representational order even into the texts of those who are overtly opposed to the representations they generate' (Smith, 1993, p.50). Smith (1993, pp.51-52) emphasises that:

an ideological code in this sense is not a determinate concept or idea, although it can be expressed as such. Nor is it a formula or a definite form of words. Rather, it is a constant generator of procedures for selecting syntax, categories, and vocabulary in the writing of texts and the production of talk and for interpreting sentences, written or spoken, ordered by it. An ideological code can generate the same order in widely different settings of talk or writing-legislative, social scientific, popular writing, administrative, television advertising...

Drawing on Jones & May (1992) I suggest that *organisational discourses* are interpretations or reflections of the signals from the higher level institutional contexts that organisations are reliant on or accountable to, usually within an institutional sector such as education or welfare. As discussed in Chapter 2, these organisational level discourses may be the same as higher-level institutional discourses. More often, it appears organisations interpret and package the institutional discourses in ways that aim to be recognised as credible by the regulatory, funding and policy institutional context, and convincing, compelling or symbolic for organisational stakeholders (Jones & May, 1992). The organisations or bodies that make up the institutional contexts often comprise both national and transnational entities whose workers and texts are themselves influenced by, and creative of, the meta-ideologies (such as neoliberalism and colonialism).

Institutional discourses are concerned with the 'forms of power that emerge in institutional regimes' (Smith 2005, p.120), designed and organised to set the 'categories, concepts and frames' (Smith 2005, p.118) into texts that coordinate and regulate the work of people in that institution so as they are accountable to those categories, concepts and frames. Institutional discourses are not understood as prescribing actions, but rather as 'providing the terms under which what people do becomes institutionally accountable' (Smith, 2005, p.113). *Ideological discourses* are meta-discourses that operate at a higher level to control institutional and other discourses. The creation and maintenance of meta-level ideologies is said to include the historical circumstances and processes of their development and ongoing cultural, political and economic processes, often including coercion, involving the key institutions of societies such as politics, law, family, education, religion, and professional associations (Harvey, 2007). As an example, Smith (2005, p.217)

identifies neoliberalism as an ideological discourse governing public discussion on the economy since the early 1980's. Smith then identifies 'New Public Managerialism' in the Canadian context, called New Public Management (NPM) in Australia, as a discourse that interprets and blends neoliberalism and institutional discourses in a range of institutional and organisational settings such as education and welfare (Smith, 2005). The nature of ideological codes including the good academic, the good student and the good social worker; organisational discourses such as managerialism, professionalism, credibility, flexible, excellence and innovative; institutional discourses including international standards, healthy public finances, shared commitment to market economies; and meta-ideological discourses such as neoliberalism, are investigated in Chapters 5-8.

Smith (2005, p.224) builds from Foucault's use of *discourse* as 'conventionally regulated practices of language that formulate and recognize objects of knowledge in distinctive ways'. Smith (2005, p.126), however, differs from Foucault's post-structuralist view that discourse is almost always overpowering of people, that discourse 'speaks over' people's intentions. Rather, drawing from Bakhtin's (1981) concept of discourse Smith (2005, p.127) emphasises that:

the dialogue... between intentions and the givens of discourse at any moment is indeed fluid. Words can be made to serve what they have not been established to do; new words or ways of combining them can be invented...language can be changed...Each moment of discourse in action can be seen as both reproducing and remaking discourse.

This understanding of discourse fits with Acker's (2006a, p.68) understanding of class, gender and race as 'relations always in process'. Smith and Acker's approach addresses both the structural relations of inequality and domination that underpins subordination and allows for the emancipatory potential of agency by people within the making of class, gender and race (Hosken, 2016). The nature of the agency of the standpoint informants, and to a lesser extent of the leadership of the AASW and RU, is investigated this study. Smith (2005, p.244) then links discourse to the work of 'translocal relations coordinating the

practices of definite individuals talking, writing, reading, watching...in particular places at particular times’.

Ruling relations

Sixth, Smith (1990a, p.6) defines *ruling relations* as:

the complex of extra-local relations that provide in contemporary societies a specialization of organization, control, and initiative. They are those forms that we know as bureaucracy, administration, management, professional organization, and the media.

As identified by DeVault (2006, p.295), ruling relations apply to ‘an expansive, historically specific apparatus of management and control that arose with the development of corporate capitalism and supports its operation’. The task in institutional ethnography is to explicate the ways in which local practices are socially organised by systems and relations external to the local structure. DeVault (1999, p.52) describes this as a process of ‘making visible the dailiness of practice within that structure, and people’s various attempts to navigate through regimes of control’. Oppression and domination are understood as ‘happening in the routine exercise of power’, in the social relations of race, gender and class, rather than necessarily being ‘the products of morally reprehensible people acting badly’ (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.24). In this thesis, I investigate how oppression, exploitation and privilege are normalised, often hidden, in the everyday work of those managing and employed in places such as universities and professional associations.

Work

Acker’s (2006a; 2012) approach to understanding work aligns with Smith’s (2005, pp.151-154) ‘generous’ concept of work, decoupled from its usual match to the formal components of paid work to include everything that takes ‘time, effort, and intent’, allowing us to see ‘what people need to do their work as well as what they are doing’. This provides the framework for exploration of what the actual work of a social work student and social work academic comprises. Addressing Acker’s (2006b, p.448) identification of concerns and gaps in research, this study explores how and what ideological, ‘bureaucratic and textual

techniques order work', to 'reproduce class, gender and racial inequalities' in two organisations in a western settler country context.

The way that the term 'work' is used in institutional ethnography was outlined in Chapter 1. In keeping with the feminist underpinning to the theory, epistemology and methodology of institutional ethnography, work in this study is, therefore, not confined to formal or paid work within organisations, but includes everything that takes time, effort and intent (Smith, 2005). I use the interview data to produce what institutional ethnography refers to as a 'generous' account of work (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.72) that stands in contrast to how most organisations describe and count work via job descriptions and work load formulas. This generous notion of work 'means that everything that people know how to do and that their daily lives require them to do is a data resource ... whether or not people recognise [it] as work...' (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.72). It includes 'what people do that requires some effort, that they mean to do, and that involves some acquired competence' (Smith, 1987, p.165). Smith argued that the discourses and accountability procedures used within organisations only render work partially observable. These discourses and procedures establish 'boundaries of observability beneath which a subterranean life continues' (Smith, 1987, p.162). The ways that the work of informants was organised could be understood through identifying within their talk the texts and policies that activated this work. In this section, I have provided a detailed account of how terms central to institutional ethnography are used in this method, and in this particular study. As texts are crucial to the methodology, they are discussed separately in the next section.

TEXTS, TEXT-READER CONVERSATIONS, INTERTEXTUALITY AND INSTITUTIONAL CAPTURE

Due to the methodological importance, the meanings and relationships between texts, text reader conversations, and intertextuality are provided their own section in this chapter.

Organisational texts do not just appear; they are planned by senior people in the organisation. These texts are designed to be inter-locking with each other, and to be consistent with texts from other regulatory or influential organisations and institutions, and the embedding of their 'categories, concepts, frames [and technologies] is highly politicised' (Smith, 2005 p.118). Also, these texts are created from those in positions of power in the organisational and institutional hierarchy, regulatory frames 'control facticity'; they control

and are specified as the categories and concepts that come into play at the front line of building of institutional realities' (Smith, 2005 p.191).

The concept of the 'text-reader conversation' (Smith, 2005, p.105) alerted me to how texts that regulate the university and the education of social workers 'exert significant control' (Smith, 2005, p.108) in activating and coordinating certain actions in the daily work of social work academics, students and field supervisors. In the action of reading, the social work employee or student activates the text, becoming 'the text's agent' (Smith, 2005 p.108). The exchange between text and the reader, the reading of the text and subsequent responses from the reader, takes place in a particular time and place, in sequences of action that can be documented in institutional ethnography. Text-reader conversations are a core process in building organisational and institutional discourses that coordinate and regulate the orchestrating of 'people's work [and learning] in institutional settings in the ways they impose an accountability to the terms they establish' (Smith, 2005 p.118). Even when trying to resist the institutional discourses, the texts, speech and acts of resistance are said to adopt 'the standardising agenda, if only as a foil' (Smith, 2005 p.108). The inter-relationship between text and talk in the coordination of worker's activities in organisational settings is discussed by Smith (2005) as texts providing the frame for how issues can be spoken about.

Coding and analysis of narratives and texts

In this methodology chapter, I provide a detailed example below of how I located the texts that organised the work of informants in their narratives, and the use of intertextuality. I place the narrative in a line-numbered box to enable identification of the presence of texts, and text-reader conversations. The remaining narratives and texts in the thesis are not placed in boxes, to not intrude unnecessarily on the ease of reading. I also explain in this chapter, the coding legend I used to assist in the analysis of narratives and texts. This aims to assist the reader in understanding the methodology, and the analysis of narratives and text in the remainder of the thesis.

I have provided in Appendix 6 the colour coding system and legend that I used to aid analysis of all narratives and texts. I used four broad categories to mark-up and organise the analysis of the data. These categories are: documents and texts; work of informants and

others; institutions, organisations, people and committees; ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses and meta-ideologies. This was adapted, with small changes, from Laura Bisaillon's (2012b, p.144) detailed description of her institutional ethnographic methodology used in her PhD study. In the example below, I include the line number system to illustrate how I move from narratives to the texts referred to in narratives.

In the following narrative excerpt, the social work lecturer informant describes some of her experiences being a social work academic at a university with responsibility for field education. Narrative 1 contains an example of the institutional capture of the informant who, although expressing her low opinion of the value of the RU student survey replies within the parameters set by RU policies and procedures.

Narrative 1: Audre - 'Students voiced their concerns about poverty'

1	It has been such a tough year for the field placement team to secure all
2	students their placements, many students started later than desired. Agencies
3	have been more cautious about accepting students, and the students have
4	been exposed to organisational stresses associated with redundancies,
5	programs closing and new funding requirements. In classes, students voiced
6	their concerns about their poverty while having to complete unpaid
7	placements, the lack of provision during placement for leave and many other
8	issues. I think some students understandably reacted to the overall pressures
9	and rated the placement unit, for which I am unit chair, poorly on some parts
10	of the university student feedback form. I feel frustrated that there is no
11	opportunity to discuss, or have the lack of adequate funding for field
12	education resolved with the university. Parts of the ASWEAS have been very
13	useful to protect basic resourcing from the university of staffing ratios, and
14	some components of field education such as the need to provide liaison and
15	supervision. However, other parts of ASWEAS do not embody social justice. I
16	am frustrated that the AASW is not able to be held accountable for how many
17	of their regulations that we have to implement adversely impact students.
18	Instead, I am required to help the course pass re-accreditation by the AASW,
19	and am informed by email to complete a form to be sent to a senior manager
20	at the university explaining my low rating. I try to put detail about these issues
21	in the form, but the form will only be accepted electronically if my section is
22	less than 200 words (A6.5, 2016).

Within Narrative 1 above are references to the texts that organise the work of the informant, and co-ordinate the work of other related people and organisations. These texts include the AASW (2012) ASWEAS (line 11) and the RU (PRU5a) *Evaluation of Teaching and*

Units Procedure (line 9). The narrative reveals, from the perspective of the informant, how the people and organisations are embedded in hierarchical structures through examination of what sort of agency is allowed for each person or organisation.

In order to understand what ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses, and ideological discourses, are revealed by the informant's story, it is necessary to consider the texts referred to in her narrative that organised her work as asocial work lecturer and field education coordinator. I have chosen to start with one text, the RU *Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure* (PRU5a) sections of which appear below. This also explicates how the text is brought into relation to what students, unit chairs/lecturers, their senior managers and others do to perform this process. The 'citation' 'PRU5a' for this text refers to the location of the actual text in the data held by the researcher in the NVivo Software program that is confidential. As the name of the university or universities where this research has been conducted is not revealed to provide confidentiality, the P refers to policy, the RU refers to the composite pseudonym 'Reach University', and the '5a' is the allocated number of the policy document in the coding system I created. This format is used for all policy texts referred to in this thesis. I then go on to show how starting with one text can be used to investigate an organisational complex of textually coordinated work processes in the university that produce evaluations of teaching as valid representations of teaching career/performance. For space reasons, I have deleted some sections of the text as that are not relevant to the discussion, indicated by three dots [...].

Text: RU Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure

1	Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure
2	Section 1 - Preamble
3	1. This Procedure was approved by Academic Board on... and incorporates
4	all amendments to....
5	2. This Procedure is pursuant to the Higher Education Courses Policy.
6	Section 2 – Purpose
7	3. To obtain student feedback on teaching and learning within units using
8	an approved student survey, consistent with the University's commitment to
9	continuous quality improvement in teaching and learning.
10	...
11	Section 4 - Policy
12	5. Refer to the Higher Education Courses Policy.
13	Section 5 - Procedure

14	6. The University will use a survey approved by the Academic Board to
15	assess students' satisfaction with their teaching and learning experiences
16	and to assist in determining any required actions as part of the continuous
17	quality improvement of teaching and units.
18	7. The survey will be administered via the RU online student evaluations
19	system by the ...
20	(8) The Deputy Vice-Chancellor ...will approve all key communications with
21	students about the evaluation of teaching and units.
22	(9) Faculties will develop and use additional methods of evaluation of
23	teaching and units, which may include: a. peer and industry review b. ...
24	(10) Faculty Boards will review results of evaluations using a process
25	determined by ...and will determine any required actions as part of the
26	continuous quality improvement cycle. (11) Units will be evaluated using
27	the University approved student survey each time offered, unless an
28	exemption is granted by the Pro Vice-Chancellor...
29	(12) Exemptions from the University approved student survey will require
30	faculties to: a. submit a request (using a standard ...form template) for each
31	unit to the... and b. report to the Learning and Teaching Group where an
32	alternative evaluation has been undertaken as appropriate...
33	(14) By the end of each study period, academic staff will have discussed
34	with students the survey process, its purpose and the value placed on it by
35	the University, and any actions taken as a result of the last evaluation. (15)
36	Students will receive an initial request to complete the survey, with
37	reminders to non-respondents over a 4-5 week period ...
38	(16) Faculty administrative staff will be responsible for the identification
39	and data entry of Unit Chairs and teachers ...
40	(17) The Strategic Unit will be responsible for the administration and
41	management of the evaluation process including ...
42	(18) The ...Deputy Vice-Chancellor ...will be responsible for providing a
43	report on each semester results for consideration by the Teaching ...
44	(19) The Strategic Unit will provide each Faculty and School with reports
45	relating to each of their units and teaching staff outcomes.
46	(20) The Strategic Unit will provide each identified Unit Chair with reports
47	specific to the units they Chair, including the unit and teacher outcomes.
48	(21) The Strategic Unit will provide each identified teacher with reports
49	specific to the units they teach...and student evaluations of their teaching.
50	(22) Unit Chairs will review survey data, and disseminate and discuss unit
51	comments as appropriate with unit teaching staff.
52	(23) Faculties will review survey data under the supervision of the ...Dean
53	Teaching...(24) Faculty Boards will report the outcome of their review each
54	semester to the...Learning Committee, in a form prescribed by that
55	Committee.(25) The Committee will consider what additional actions, if any,
56	should be taken by faculties and provide a consolidated report, including any
57	necessary recommendations, for consideration by the Academic Board.
58	(26) The Academic Board will use the student survey reports to direct
59	quality assurance and continuous quality improvement in teaching...

60	Evaluation of teaching
61	(27) Teaching staff, their Performance Planning and Review (PPR) reviewers
62	and Heads of School will use student evaluation data to identify and
63	implement improvements to the quality of teaching and to recognise and
64	reward high performance and achievements.
65	(28) The Associate Dean Teaching...will review teaching performance across
66	the faculty, with assistance from Heads of Schools.
67	Evaluation of units
68	(29) The Unit Chair, relevant ...advisory board, Head of School, Associate
69	Dean...and Faculty Executive Dean...will consider survey data and will: a.
70	assess this information against school, faculty and University averages and
71	previous evaluations of the unit b. determine any required actions to
72	improve the quality of units.
73	Confidentiality
74	(30) The University will ensure that survey data identifying individual
75	students is kept confidential at all times...(32) The University will ensure
76	that survey data about the performance of individual teachers will be kept
77	confidential. Survey data about a teacher's performance will be available to
78	the teacher, the Unit Chair and their PPR reviewer, and any other staff who
79	require the information to fulfil their duties. (33) The University will make
80	aggregated and summarised survey information publicly available.
81	Feedback to students
82	(34) Faculties will provide feedback to students on the evaluation of
83	teaching and units each time the unit is offered...
84	Course approval and review processes
85	(36) Evaluation data will be used, where appropriate, in the course
86	approval, major course review and annual course review processes.
87	Status and Details Status: Current Effective Date: 1st February Review Date:

Smith (2001, p.180) describes how people's activities are 'organisationally appropriated' by the texts of organisations that coordinate their work. This is evident in the RU (PRU5a) *Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure* (hereafter referred to as Text 1) above, that nominates the personnel, and courses of action that need to occur, for this procedure to be recognised (Smith, 2001). The roles and the work of students, unit chairs, teachers, senior managers including those who review the performance of staff (PPR reviewers), Deans, Associate Deans, Strategic Unit personnel and others are outlined in Text 1 to produce what can be recognised as an organisational process of evaluating teaching and units. Text 1 relies implicitly on the hierarchical status of the staffing and promotion structure of the university. The authorisation of the text as an organisational text appears at lines 89-90. The text assigns agency to certain organisational personnel, and also regulates what sort of agency is

able to be taken. For example, confirming the informant's account of work processes and analysis of Narrative 1, students are afforded agency to complete the survey or not (lines 37-38). The teacher and unit chair lack agency in having no choice in the design of the survey nor in regards to whether to have the survey occur in relation to the unit they chair or teach (lines 19-23). Teaching staff and their managers described here as 'Performance Planning and Review (PPR) reviewers' and Heads of School are required to 'use student evaluation data to identify and implement improvements to the quality of teaching and to recognise and reward high performance and achievements' (lines 63-66). 'High performance and achievements' (lines 65-66) and 'continuous quality improvement' (lines 9, 18, 27) begin to indicate the presence and components of the ideological code of the 'good academic' where one criteria for achieving high performance is that academics achieve high scores on student evaluations (lines 66-71) and another is that they engage in 'continuous quality improvement'. Student feedback is situated in Text 1 as an academic performance indicator (lines 67-68). Students are afforded confidentiality in Text 1 in providing feedback (lines 81-82). Teachers and unit chairs are not afforded similar confidentiality as 'Survey data about a teacher's performance will be available to the teacher, the Unit Chair and their PPR reviewer, and any other staff who require the information to fulfil their duties' (lines 79-81).

Smith (2001) stresses the importance of understanding the role of intertextuality in making meaning of texts. Intertextuality 'insists a text cannot be read in detachment from other texts that it addresses, reflects, refers to, presupposes, relies on and so on. A text is necessarily embedded in a complex of texts' (Smith, 2001, p.187). Text 1 reflects that student feedback is taken much more seriously by university management in the current context of the increasing privatisation and marketisation of higher education (Blackmore, 2015) and competition for students. Student feedback is believed to play a role in determining student satisfaction data about courses, university rankings and marketing (Smithson, Birks, Harrison, Nair, & Hitchins, 2015). The weight accorded to the value of student satisfaction data in marketing is reflected in the confidentiality afforded to students in providing responses to the evaluation survey and in the following associated text, statements on RU's (PRU3a) website aimed at attracting students to the university:

We've maintained the highest level of overall student satisfaction among [State] universities for the last six years...RU is an internationally recognised university, both overall and for specific courses...awarded a five-star rating by the prestigious university ranking organisation Quacquarelli Symonds (QS). The rating indicates RU is world-class in a broad range of areas, has cutting-edge facilities and is internationally renowned for its research and teaching.

There are seven references in Text 1 to 'continuous quality improvement'. Understanding what this term means requires accessing a related text, the RU (PRU1a, p.3) *Quality Management Policy* that provides the following definition: 'ongoing review cycle designed to progressively improve processes, services or outcomes. Improvements are referenced to available standards, good practice and the University's own requirements to achieve its strategic goals'. The work of students, teachers, unit chairs, managers, boards, committees and units is co-ordinated by Text 1 to accomplish the objectives of the university embedded in other related texts such as the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* which includes university objectives of 'becoming first in [state] and top 5 in Australia for overall satisfaction with their [student] learning experience' (PRU1, p.8); 'improving workforce productivity (labour costs per EFTSL) and improving profitability and productivity measures [underlying surplus; growth in student numbers; increase in international student numbers]' (PRU1, p.12). From this text, and others discussed in the analysis chapters of this thesis, I can investigate the organisational complex of textually coordinated work processes in RU that produces global rankings, quality management and continuous quality improvement processes as valid representations of the work of academics and of the role of the university.

Smith (2005, p.108) argues that even those with awareness of the power of the text, who use the frames of the text to advocate for change, are captured, to some extent or another, by the institutional discourse. Identified as 'institutional capture' by Smith (2005, p. 119) this involves 'that discursive practice, regulated by the institutional procedures of text-reader conversations, through which institutional discourse overrides and reconstructs experiential talk and writing'. Following Bakhtin's concept of discourse, Smith also writes that people reproduce and remake the discourse each time they participate in the activation

of texts and take resultant actions (Smith, 2005, p.224). This suggests the possibility for discursive and social change. How social work students and educators in this study engage with texts that impact social justice, the degrees to which they are the 'text's agents', or can remake, resist or appropriate those texts will be further detailed in Chapters 4-7 where the nature of the agency of the informants is also investigated.

METHODS

In institutional ethnography, informants' experiences are the entry point, but 'the movement of research' is from informants' accounts of their everyday experiences to exploring from those perspectives 'the generalizing and generalized relations in which each individual's everyday world is embedded' (Smith, 1987, p.185). I agree with Wittman (2010, p.73) who asserts that institutional ethnography provides 'the framework to create unique insights about the interactions among individuals and organisations, sites of power, resistance and change, and the normalising processes of bureaucracies and political institutions'.

Smith (1987, pp.160-161) does not make a prescription for a particular sequence of the research activities of institutional ethnography but does suggest three core tasks that define institutional ethnography as a research strategy. First, is an assessment of how institutional processes shape, and are shaped by, the day-to-day work activities of people engaged in the production of their daily lives. Second, is an analysis of the value and belief systems (ideological practices) that are used to make the institutional work processes accountable. As Marie Campbell (2001, p.243) explains: 'When an account is constructed, inserting a ruling conceptual frame and suppressing the experience of the 'subject' of the lived actuality that the account claims to be about, the account is said to be ideological'. Institutional ethnographers use the 'ideological circle' to explicate how things work for those people negatively affected by the ideological process. Ruling relations elevate the policy view of how things are meant to happen, often to the extent of rendering people's actual experiences irrelevant or invisible. The third task involves identifying how these work processes in one area connect to those performed by others elsewhere and together form an extended set of social relations.

This is one of the ways that an institutional ethnography is different to a traditional thesis that starts with a theory or hypothesis to test. The texts (in this study including narratives, application processes, enrolment forms and processes, university and government policies, unit guides, assessments, websites, computer-based course and unit information, accreditation regulations, annual course review templates, campus maps, grading schemas etc.) and recording of events are taken back regularly to the informants to check in on their perceptions of their meaning and how they fit in with their understanding of the chain of experience and events of the study and work environment.

Research processes, theory, practice and activism

Western feminists (for example, Sprague, 2005), African feminists (for example, Dillard & Bell, 2011) and cross-cultural research approaches (for example, Liangputtong, 2007), advocate for and legitimate research projects that create research theory, practice and activism to combine and inform each other. There is a strand within institutional ethnography where researchers have explicitly combined research and activism (Smith, 1990a; Pence & McMahon, 2003; Frampton, Kinsman, Thompson, & Tilliczek, 2006; Sadusky, Martinson, Lizdas, & McGee, 2010; Bisailon, 2012b). Some of the research processes in this project included learning from and changing aspects of the everyday informal conversations and behaviours that comprise the relationships between the three informants (and others) enacted in the process of 'doing' (Fenstermaker & West, 2002), class, gender and race in this study. Combining theory, practice and activism is also then situated in the formal research project through the development and enactment of the ethical framework developed in and for this project, and an interrogation of the narratives of these relationships as texts. The Reach (pseudonym) South Sudan community action project that I was involved in with Denalh Hopeng informed the cross-cultural ethical framework to guide this study. My involvement in this project provided much of the cultural immersion that facilitated my increased understanding of whiteness.

The use of 'mutual mentoring' (Mullen, 2005) and the 'mutual respect inquiry approach' (Hosken, 2010, p.3) formed within the ethical framework that guided this research project significantly influenced the research conversations I conducted with informants over the five-years of data collection. In my search of the literature for an ethnographic method that aligned with what Denalh and I were doing, I assessed different methods such as interactive interviews, co-constructed narratives (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011), critical collaborative (Bhattacharya, 2008) cogenerative (Grenier & Burke, 2008) public, applied, and activist (Lassiter & Campbell 2010, p.761) ethnographies, and duo-ethnography (Norris, 2008; Sawyer & Norris, 2009). It did not appear to me that any of these existing methods captured the nature of the work that was embedded back into the informant - researcher relationships, particularly between me and Denalh. Denise Fassett's (1996) use of 'critical conversations' described in her Master's thesis as a method to tell the stories of a friend and academic colleague's experiences of being ill without a medical diagnosis, and her own entwined stories as researcher and friend, was similar in some ways, but also different. It was similar, in that Fassett's research relationship with the participant crossed boundaries of friendship and work, and eventually culminated in a jointly authored book (Fassett & Gallagher, 1998), a possible future goal that Denalh and I have discussed. It was different, in that Fassett's critical conversation method was not informed by mutual inquiry or dialogic practice.

The mutual ethnography acknowledges the co-presence of unity and difference in the relationship, particularly between Denalh and me, the different power roles that each of us have taken at various times in our student/teacher, mutual mentoring, friendship, community work and research project relationships that have moved across time and locations. The research relationship and the community work relationship informed and constructed each other. In the research project, I was the responsible research leader. In the community project, Denalh was the responsible project leader. In the research project, I worried most about ethics in terms of Denalh's involvement, contribution, impact of financial and time pressures, acknowledgement of knowledge provision, family responsibilities, exploitation, and safety. In the community project, particularly in South

Sudan, Denalh worried most about my involvement, contribution, time, exploitation, family responsibilities and safety. The learnings and narratives generated from this relationship in action are brought into the project for enacted consideration by informants. In a similar and different way, the cross-gender aspect of the relationship and mutual ethnography has more involved two informants, me and Richard. As this developed, these learnings and narratives were also then brought in to the project for informants to consider and interrogate their experiences of racialised, gendered and classed practice in the micro environment of the research project itself.

RESEARCH PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

As outlined in chapter 1, this ethnographic study aims to generate a detailed, contextual understanding and analysis of how social injustice, understood here as occurring through systems of privilege and inequality, interact and inhere in people and organisations. The following research questions were refined and expanded, responding to the nature of the project, and the data, as it unfolded:

1. Where and how are the relations of oppression and privilege present in the university and regulating professional body?
 - a. What is the work of the informants?
 - b. What key texts and textual representations organise the work of the informants?
 - c. How/do ruling relations in the university perpetuate adopt, perpetuate and contribute to prevailing norms of the good academic, student and social worker to create a dominant narrative that works to discipline the actions and beliefs of its staff, students and constituents?
 - d. How/ do ruling relations in the AASW adopt, perpetuate and contribute to prevailing norms of the good social work student, the good social work educator and the good social worker to create a dominant narrative that works to discipline the actions and beliefs of social workers?
2. How are social work student and educator informants' experiences of social injustice shaped within race, class and gender as relations of oppression and privilege?

3. How is the work and social practices of the informants constrained by, accommodating, and challenging, of wider ruling relations?

My analysis aims to make visible the ways in which texts subsume the local and particular with abstract policies and prevailing norms based on ideological ruling relations.

ETHICS, RELATIONALITY AND THE 'HEALING METHODOLOGY'

The accounts that Denalh's provided from the standpoint as a minority racial/ethnic background social work student in a predominately white educational institution have been fundamental to this project. Ethical concern is heightened when, as in this project, the researcher (me) is a white-Euro Australian from the dominant cultural group in Australia and Denalh is a South Sudanese Australian from a minority racial/ethnic group in Australia, and the research commenced based on an existing relationship between Denalh and myself. This section describes the adoption of the 'healing methodology' (Dillard, 2008) as part of the ethical framework, that in combination with the existing relationship built over time between Denalh and myself that involved mutual mentoring and friendship, aimed at providing an additional ethical layer to prevent the 'stealing' (Pittaway, Bartolomei, & Hugman, 2010) of Denalh's stories or inappropriate use of our relationship. Refugee communities have raised concerns that some researchers 'steal' their stories to garner emotional content for their scholarly work, but do not make contact again (Pittaway, et al., 2010).

Early in this research, Denalh and I discussed how our relationship involved reciprocity and mutuality that enabled each of us to learn more about education. As a teacher, I learned much from Denalh to improve my ability to write relevant curriculum and to teach in ways that validated and included diverse knowledges and educational practices. Denalh said she learned more about Australian societal contexts, western education processes and welfare and social work in a western country. Similar to Denalh and her family, education has been acknowledged as a particularly significant issue when navigating refugee resettlement in Australia for those who are 'visibly different' (Colic-Peisker &

Tilbury, 2007b) and where English is an additional language and culture (AHRC, 2009c; Turner & Fozdar, 2010a).

In preparation to start this research project, at one of our first 'research conversations' Denalh and I examined the 'healing methodology', theorised by African American scholar, Cynthia Dillard (2008, p.286), as an ethical approach for working with indigenous and African peoples. The five principles of the 'healing methodology' are 'unconditional love, compassion, reciprocity, ritual and gratitude' and aim to 'honour indigenous African cultural and knowledge production...' (Dillard, 2008, p.287). Denalh affirmed the healing methodology as appropriately reflecting her cultural and spiritual concerns for her contribution to the project, as illustrated in the following excerpt from a research conversation:

Oh my God, I love her. I do not know who she is but I love her principles. I like them all... Without having a connection, between you and me, and knowing how the connection came up, the connection of love, I would not be participating in the research. I would have said no I am busy. She [Dillard] is exactly African...

I think important values in the research need to include: The relationship has to be there before the research; Respect - I have to care about who is around me, have to care about my brother, my mum, my sister, my children -have to care about the whole community; There is no I, the research will be judged by the whole community and should make my community proud; Community first- it is others' first before yourself (D1a, 2011).

Denalh's affirmation and additions to Dillard's (2008) principles were key influences on the development of this research project's ethical framework. We decided to adopt these principles to provide guidance for my relationship as a white-Euro Australian researcher with Denalh as a South Sudanese Australian informant in this current project. The main reasons for placing importance on developing an ethical framework for this study included: wanting to actively respect research informants and the people/communities identified as being significant to them; preventing or minimising potential for exploiting the time, knowledge, goodwill and relationships of informants; aiming to respect and learn from the

similarities and differences between Western and African ontology, epistemology and axiology (Bangura, 2011); and wanting to engage in mutually beneficial and reciprocal research learning relationships.

In addition, the healing methodology (Dillard, 2008) was adopted as a lens for Denalh and myself to evaluate the appropriateness of use of Denalh's particular experiences, understanding them as necessarily being embedded in her community, as data for the project. This proved essential in the project as a process to re-draw attention to deeply ingrained, hidden from view from myself, assumptions derived from (my) white-Euro, settler Australian ethnocentric arrogance. I have come to understand this racialised arrogance, as it existed(s) in my thinking, fostered by the western university traditions and practices that envelop me, included that I had: a researcher's right and expertise to know enough to ask about, discover and learn as much as I could about South Sudanese Dinka culture; and the ability to come to know, understand and use what I thought I had the right to ask and discover. The presence and impact of colonialism and whiteness on the researcher, informants, organisations, institutions and social and ruling relations is explored in most chapters in this thesis.

In this section, I provide a brief outline of each of the principles of the healing methodology (Dillard, 2008) and an example of the actions taken within the project aimed at enacting them. Dillard (2008, p.287) explains the first principle, love, requires the researcher to be 'looking and listening deeply...so that we know what to do and what not to do in order to serve others in the process of research'. Denalh and I had been teacher/student, mutual mentors, co-community workers and friends. During the five-years of this research from 2011 to 2016, we met over 150 times for a variety of reasons including: having research conversations for this project; organising activities of the Reach South Sudan Community Group we had founded with others; discussing Denalh's studies and my teaching; and catching up socially as friends. Over the course of these varied interactions over the years, I learned more about love and research. For example, there were many personal things we experienced or discussed that we decided were not appropriate to include in this research project. I also learned more about the need to communicate my own socialised, culturally ingrained inability to maintain high levels of sociality as an

expression of love, needing to retreat at times to my more limited social capacities while maintaining friendship, love and connection with Denalh and others in this project, in my other work, and in the rest of my personal life.

Dillard's (2008, p.288) second principle, compassion, as a methodology requires researchers to 'have the intention and capacity to relieve and transform suffering through our research work'... with 'deep and abiding concern for the community'. Denalh articulated what individual and community concerns and obligations within this principle were important. This included that we continued to meet to help each other with our respective studies and work. It also emphasised the importance, following Denalh's instigation and leadership, of our continued work with others to found the Reach*South Sudan Community Group. In this group, over several years, alongside the research project, we worked to increase awareness in the local Australian community and to raise funds to establish an exchange of knowledge, and to build water and education facilities in Denalh's village in South Sudan.

Within the third principle of healing methodology, seeking reciprocity, the researchers must have their 'intention and capacity to see human beings as equal, shedding all discrimination and prejudice and removing the boundaries between ourselves and others' (Dillard, 2008, p.288). If the researchers continue to perceive themselves as 'researchers and the other as the researched', or 'if they continue to see their own research agenda as more crucial than the needs and concerns of the research participants, they —cannot be in loving, compassionate, or reciprocal relationships with others' (Dillard, 2008, p.288). One example of the many tensions experienced in relation to this principle was a meeting held at the university to do with this project in the early stages of the research. In this meeting, I perceived that inadequate respect was shown towards Denalh, and members of her family. I was upset and angry, and drafted an email to withdraw from my candidature and the project. I talked with the university people involved who did not realise that their actions may have been perceived in a way to cause potential disrespect. I also talked with Denalh, who did not want the project to be discontinued. In that knowledge, rather than walking away, I facilitated the offered apology to be provided. Despite the apology, I remained troubled that my initial reaction to withdraw may have been in some ways more

ethical. I am not confident within the individualistic, competitive, western dominated academic research process that it is possible to import and consistently prioritise more reciprocal, caring, socially-based, compassionate principles. On numerous occasions, the principles were aspirational rather than achieved, and the decisions to continue the project, often discussed with Denalh, were made in the experience that research is a complex, imperfect, political, pragmatic, strategic and contested activity. This is also evident when informant accounts and analysis in Chapter 5 indicate the university and the AASW as being embedded in, and predicated on, 'epistemological racism' (Scheurich & Young, 1997).

In the fourth principle of ritual, Dillard (2008, p.289) states that as researchers 'we ... are always one with spiritual reality, not removed from it as has been the ethos of western research traditions'. According to Dillard (2000, p.674), an, 'endarkened feminist epistemology draws on a spiritual tradition, where the concern is not solely with the production of knowledge (an intellectual pursuit) but also with uncovering and constructing truth as the fabric of everyday life (a spiritual pursuit)'. I understand the commitment in institutional ethnography to commence investigation from people's experiences, recognising them as experts in how they do their work, to be consistent with Dillard's call for a spiritual pursuit where the intention is that the experiences and knowledge of those most affected by the issues under investigation inform all components of the research process. Finally, in the fifth principle of gratitude, I agree with Dillard (2008, p.289) who describes the need to 'be thankful for the work of research as ...a healing process for ourselves and others'. Denalh and I have had many conversations that include how our discussions have helped each other endure, heal and grow.

In this section, I offered insight into the importance of an ethical framework developed with informants to guide the researcher and the project.

ETHICS, DATA SAMPLE AND COLLECTION

Ethics approval was obtained from the university Human Research Ethics Committee on 20, July 2011. Data collection with informants occurred during a five-year period from 1 August 2011 to 1 December 2016. The key informants studied, worked or were engaged in projects

in more than one university during the period of this study. Where data is drawn from informants' study and work experiences in universities these are de-identified into a pseudonym composite called 'Reach University' (RU). Where reference is made by informants to people that may be identifiable, these have been presented in a composite form that represent different narratives and people.

Smith (2002, p.26) explains that 'institutional ethnography is sampling an institutional process rather than a population' and therefore can commence from just one informant. Institutional ethnography does not prescribe particular methods for collecting data but does require that two levels of data need to be collected and analysed. Marie Campbell and Frances Gregor (2004, p.60) explain that entry-level data is necessary to learn about how the informants actually experience and do their work in their local setting. The entry level data for this institutional ethnography about how the work of a social work student and social work educators is carried out at the university is gained from the narratives turned into text derived from the ethnographic conversation interviews. This data revealed the problematic of interest to the researcher and informants in the organisational setting. In this study the problematic concerns exploring for how oppression and privilege are experienced and occur through systems of racialised, gendered and classed practices on informants.

Level two data is then sought in the broader university setting to explicate this problematic, to gather the information needed to understand how oppression and privilege are organised. What people, documents, texts, practices link the broader and local university settings? The purpose of establishing such connections is to explicate the relations between people in these settings. These are the power relations between people, the relations that rule. As Marie Campbell and Frances Gregor (2004, p.61) point out, for people to have access to understanding how their lives are organised outside their own knowledge and control makes it possible to understand (and challenge) domination and subordination.

Institutional ethnography with its emphasis on commencing from concerns and lived experiences allows for several qualitative methods. I was guided by Nancy Taber's (2007;

2010) approach to institutional ethnography, who also augmented institutional ethnography with narrative as entry level data in her study, *Ruling Relations, Warring, and Mothering: Writing the Social from the Everyday Life of a Military Mother*. In addition to the narrative and textual analysis that Taber utilised in her study to provide the entry-level data, I incorporate mutual ethnography.

Production of entry level data: Mutual ethnographic conversation data

Over a five-year period, I collected a key source of data from my own research journal and diary and from mutual ethnography conversations with the other key informants. In these observations and mutual ethnographic conversations, I focussed on addressing the following criteria:

- outline what the informants' day-to day work involved at RU
- note what texts were involved in organising this work, and how these texts activated certain actions from informants. As one process and set of data Richard, Denalh and Audre addressed the same guiding set of questions (see Appendix 7).
- note and explore experiences of race, class and gender in
 - the three informants themselves
 - their interactions with others involved in their work
 - the physical spaces where the research occurred, RU and organisations that provided student placements, and
 - in the texts identified as organising the work of the informants

Observations

Over five years, I regularly wrote self-observations and a researcher reflective diary. My work computer outlook diary calendar was used as a base document. On certain days, I developed lists of meetings I attended and types of work activities I carried out to record all the activities I was involved in. Work in institutional ethnography is not confined to formal or paid work, but includes everything that takes time, effort, and intent (Smith, 2005). I wrote in my research diary about concrete experiences of my work in RU, the work that

was counted in my workload and the work that was not counted. These word documents were uploaded to NVivo.

Mutual ethnographic interview conversations and 'Slow Scholarship'

The mutual ethnographic conversation interviews between myself and the other informants in this study were informed by the dialogic informal nature of institutional ethnography. Key to this way of gathering data was the intention for the researcher and informants to learn from each other over many meetings in different contexts, and for this learning to guide what was to be researched and how it was to be researched. The belief was that different and deeper knowledge could be gained from this way of learning and researching than might be possible in one-off interviews or surveys.

In this way, there are synchronicities with the idea of 'slow scholarship' informed by feminist politics where a 'collective feminist ethics of care' is suggested to 'challenge the expectations of accelerated time and elitism of the neoliberal university' (Mountz et al., 2015, p.1237) to create the time needed to think, research, read and learn. Slow scholarship, identified as a strategy of resistance, is expressed in 'collaborative, collective [and] communal ways' (Mountz, et al., 2015, p.1237). Aspects of feminist slow scholarship appear to me to draw from and be compatible with, the ontological and epistemological principles and methods of Indigenist research, particularly concerning the relationships between 'knowing, being and doing' (Martin, 2003; Rigney, 2006).

Over the five-year data collection period, I met over 200 times with the other key informants. There were other occasions such as when I travelled with Denalh and members of her family to South Sudan where we were in each other's company on a daily and nightly basis. I began the identification of texts and analysis based on data from all three informants. I developed a list of key texts and documents that affected the work of being a student and staff member of RU. I began analysis of these documents and mapping of connecting documents.

Level two data is based on the problematic that emerged from the lived experiences described in the entry level data; it is the data that is useful for explicating the ruling relations. An analysis of entry-level data leads the institutional ethnographer to second level data (Campbell and Gregor, 2002), such as texts and policies to explore how informants' lives are socially organised. In this study, the texts are RU and professional body policies, procedures and practices that directly or indirectly coordinate the three informants' work and study at RU in relation to ruling ideas and practices (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.99). I found the texts that informants referred to by using the text search function in NVivo to scan the transcriptions. As I was deliberately listening for texts, I also wrote down in hand notes during interviews what texts were referred to by the informants.

I then interrogated the texts in these experiences and mapped their discourses. What texts interacted with the three informants' study and work? How? Why? I reinvestigated institutional work processes by mapping the actual sequences of work and texts from informants' experiences and accounts of their experience into the work processes of organisations and organisational action.

I asked questions of the data including how do institutionally generated texts shape informants' experiences in ways that prescribe their ways of being? What are informants' engagements, complicities and/or resistances with these texts, discourses and practices? I mapped the trans-local relations (in/between students, educators, school, faculty, campuses, senior academic/administration/management, government, and international organisations), that mediated informants' work as university student and staff members. I aimed to identify connections and fractures in social and ruling relations with a focus in this study is on those ruling ideas and practices as they are racialised, gendered and classed. I was interested in how the actual local work doings of informants might get lost in, or removed from, the textual representations and regulation of work (Smith, 2005, 2006; Lund, 2012). The key texts and policies that were identified from informant narratives about their work are identified and discussed the analysis chapters.

Six months after commencing the project, I commenced using NVivo, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) program. For the duration of the project, this served as a portable digital filing cabinet for all the research project information and data; and as an organisational and memory aid. NVivo was also used to search the data for recurring terms, to help identify key themes and to store notes (reflections, speculations, questions to follow up) made as the data were analysed. A journal was also maintained to record my own insights as they emerged during conversation interviews, reviews of RU documents and associated reading in which I was concurrently engaged. In combination with Endnote and writing methods, I used NVivo in the ongoing review of the literature. I also used NVivo in the data collection and transcription (alongside webcam, iPhone, digital voice recorder, iPad, digital camera). NVivo is one way I used to interrogate and immerse in the data and to transcribe some sections of video and audio. NVivo allows for synchronous playback and typing. Other videos and audios were transcribed professionally by 'SmartDocs' and the text of the transcription then uploaded to NVivo.

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

I imported the data file from the referencing program, Endnote, into NVivo. This enabled me to use all the literature as data sources able to be subject to text searches and coded alongside other data sources. It is possible to do a text search of any document or PDF that is imported into NVivo without it having been coded.

There were on-going analysis of narratives, video and texts with informants to understand standpoints, explore and explicate themes. In institutional ethnography, the narratives and all other research generated documents/items become texts to analyse. I would reflect/ think about the connections across different data sources – narratives, policy documents, emails, journal, video and audio. It is possible to summarise an article within NVivo, develop themes and code as you summarise. This can then form part of the overall data that can be drawn together in different ways to explore or check understandings of connections and themes between different data sources.

The objective of institutional ethnography is to use excerpts of the conversation interviews provided by informants about how their work is organised in the way it is in their particular section of the organisation to then explicate how this work 'is coordinated in relation to ruling ideas and practices' (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.99). In the analysis of data for this purpose strategies such as coding, categorisation and counting frequencies of events are not generally used (DeVault & McCoy, 2002, p.768; Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p. 85). I have followed the advice of DeVault and McCoy (2002, pp.768-769), and the outline provided by Laura Bisailon (2012b, p.143) in her institutional ethnographic thesis, and used simple groupings to code around 'work, talk, texts, people and institutions' paying attention to these categories as I read transcripts and other materials and listened to recordings. I was guided by the coding framework offered by Bisailon (2012b, p.143) and:

paid careful attention to and took note of the following: what people were doing and what interactions with others looked like (work); what language and terms people used in their descriptions (talk); what documents informants brought to the interviews, or those that were revealed in their talk (texts); what actors informants interacted with directly or indirectly (people); and, what institutions were referenced or inferred (institutions).

In reviewing the data, I looked for what was organising the informants talk about their work. For example, the Australian Government's Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) assessment system was mentioned by both academic informants and is an organiser of how they speak about their everyday work and about themselves as academics. The reference to this organising text was sometimes indirect as in this example from the professorial academic informant where the 'reasonable publication and research output' is a reference to how this is measured both by ERA assessment tool and made accountable for in the individual workload of the academic:

You also learn that a 'good academic' works extensively outside of university work hours on nights and weekends. They [academics] are required to do this to maintain a reasonable publication and research output and to be on call out of hours to

respond to the email communications that come from students, colleagues and university management (R7, 2014).

I looked for people's activities and talk around texts; the 'sequences of action' (Smith, 2005) they provoke. I asked how is it that informants have described experiences in the way they have. How has the social context affected these experiences? How were these experiences coordinated geospatially and temporally? From these questions, specific themes emerged as a foundation from which to lead to related texts (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.32; Taber, 2010). I discussed and reviewed (with informants) my analysis that showed how work experiences relate to texts, social and ruling relations. I reviewed this with informants to enhance accuracy and validity of the mapping.

DeVault and McCoy (2002) identify two strategies for presenting the generous account of work required of an institutional ethnography. One strategy involves the researcher providing a composite description of work and institutional processes in their own voice drawing from the multiple sources or data such as interviews, narratives and documents. A second approach is to use composite accounts supported by exhibits including the informant's own descriptions about their work, documents and other data (DeVault & McCoy, 2002, p.770). Similar to Lauri Grace (2005) and Bisailon (2012b) in their institutional ethnographic theses, I have adopted the second approach and incorporate extracts from conversation interview transcripts to exhibit instances of social work student and academic informants conducting their work, and then write in my voice a composite description of the institutional processes surrounding this work.

The translation and mediation of experience

In an edited book called *Voices of Resistance: Testimonies of Cuban and Chilean Women*, edited and translated by Judy Maloof (1999), an instructive description is provided by Maloof of her relationship to the responsibility of translation and writing as a researcher. Maloof (1999) acknowledged how the process of recording, transcribing and translating the oral histories, the personal narratives of Cuban and Chilean women necessarily mediated their experiences. However, Maloof noted this was one mediating agent among others such as historical events and the women themselves in forming their stories of their lives into

speech acts. Maloof's (1999) caution to not seek to find commonalities among women in the pursuit of global sisterhood at the expense of ignoring class, ethnic and cultural differences among women was also instructive for me as a white feminist conducting this study.

Guided by Maloof (1999), I acknowledge that in incorporating extracts from journal entries and interview conversations with the informants the process of self-narration, speaking, conversation, transcription and analysis effect some mediation and translation of meaning. This is particularly the case for transcribing interview conversations between Denalh and myself. I am monolingual, white-Euro, monocultural, English speaking. Denalh is multilingual and multicultural and able to speak to me in English, her fourth language. Denalh spoke to me in an English language that is informed and inflected by her South Sudanese heritage involving her: oral Dinka first language and culture; learned ability to speak Nuer and Shilluk; latter education involving written and spoken Arabic; then learning written and spoken English in Australia. In the process of our interview conversations, I often asked Denalh to explain in more detail the meaning of something she said, and Denalh often asked me the same. There were many words or meanings that had no exact, or even similar, translation across my Australian English and Denalh's first three languages. The translation, transcription, choice of excerpts and analysis then, although taken back to Denalh for approval, has therefore been a mediating agent, to some degree, of describing Denalh's experiences.

Analysis cannot be easily separated from data collection and transcription in terms of timing or processes. Over the five-years of data collection in this project, I discussed with informants, imagined, collected, created, stored, organised, thought about, interrogated, interacted with, revisited and analysed data (including my 'self' and my own narratives) using combinations and layers of collection and analysis methods that fitted with the ethics, purpose and pragmatics of the project. These tools and methods inflected and informed each other in a more spiral, than linear, motion, and included: manual/hand, NVivo, Endnote, computers, Drop box, memory sticks, paper, pencils/pens, conscious and subconscious thinking and analysis (Hosken, 2012), discussions, sensorial responses, reflexive journaling, files and whiteboards.

REFLEXIVITY

In deciding what was pertinent to the study, what would be transcribed from audio/video into text, and then to decide what parts of that text were relevant to illustrate the presence, and impacts, of race, class and gender in the work of informants, I acknowledge my power as the ethnographer. I heed the warning of Kevin Walby (2007, p.1010) to acknowledge that the data collection, transcription and analysis are entwined and, to some extent, 'produce rather than preserves the presence of the subject[s]'. The aim is to make the frameworks and decisions in the research process transparent for those involved in the research, and those reading it. Reflexivity and transparency are used to consciously and actively reduce the degree of objectification to the minimum level possible in this research project, and for that degree of objectification to be visible, and the researcher then accountable.

TRUSTWORTHINESS AND RIGOUR

There are two main aspects to issues of rigor in institutional ethnography. First, is an assessment if the quality of the description of the experiences that were observed do in fact provide the informants and the reader with an authentic representation and feeling of what it is like to work in that particular part of the organisation (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p.60; Rankin & Campbell, 2009). The second aspect of rigor is if the analytical account of how people's everyday knowledge and work is tied to larger norms, to the social and political relations of ruling is believable to the informants and to others who may study in a similar way using similar methodologies (Campbell & Gregor, 2004). In a similar vein, DeVault & McCoy (2002, p.764) note that rigor in institutional ethnography comes from using the methods in ways that explicate ruling relations rather than forming a representative sample.

LIMITATIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

In this section, I address three key limitations of institutional ethnography raised by Kevin Walby, Patricia Hill Collins and Naomi Nicholls. The limitation identified by Walby (2007) is regarding institutional ethnography not yet having acknowledged its own inability to

overcome or avoid the objectification and power the ethnographer continues to assert in evaluating ontology and collecting and analysing data. Informed by Walby (2007), in the description of the inter-related processes of collecting, transcribing and analysing data I was careful to acknowledge, and aimed to make transparent, my decisions important to the construction and development of the research process.

The other key criticism Collins (1992) makes is that inadequate consideration has been afforded to knowledges produced by oppressed groups to resist their subordination. Further, Collins (1992, p.78) outlines:

This approach misses the complexity of how race, gender, social class, age, sexual orientation, and religion result in differential placement regarding objectified knowledges and how this placement encourages some groups to develop and other groups to suppress alternative local knowledges, and suppresses it in still others.

To address this omission, Collins (1992) advocates that analyses consider the significance of social locations. In this current study, a specific aim is to focus on understanding how race, class and gender as systems of inequality are organised within the informants and within two organisations. This is facilitated by the approach to discover how this happens rather than to apply categories (Smith, 2009) onto situations and people. The understanding of discourse, following Smith (2005) and Bakhtin (1981), and of class, gender and race as 'relations always in process' (Acker, 2006a, p.68) suggests that people reproduce and remake the discourse each time they participate in the activation of texts and take resultant actions (Smith, 2005, p.224). This provides the possibility for discursive and social change.

The final limitation addressed here are the tensions involving institutional ethnographers seeking to influence socially just change needing also to find ways to balance the demands of academic writing, while being true to the activist origins of this sociological approach (Nichols, 2016).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the research methodology, including key terminology used in institutional ethnography. An illustrative example of how data analysis is done within this approach was provided to assist readers to understand the background and method underpinning data analysis in the remaining chapters. The key terminology employed in this study, and some of the key influences that informed my approach, was explained. I explained the use of mutual ethnographic conversation interviews, observation and examination of texts to produce two levels of data that provide entry to local sites and allow explication of the social relations that organise those sites.

The following chapter is the first of the four analysis chapters that identify where key policy texts and discourses are active in the informants' accounts of their work of being a social work student, a social work lecturer, a social work professor, and a social worker to regulate their study and work to happen in the ways that it does. All four chapters draw from informant narratives and associated texts to analyse how ideological codes, and organisational, institutional and ideological discourses are inter-connected and layered to produce standardised ideal images, of the 'good social work student', the 'good social work lecturer', the good social work professor' and the 'good social worker'.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE 'GOOD SOCIAL WORK STUDENT'

INTRODUCTION

Drawing from data collected between 2011 and 2016, Chapters 4 to 7 present the data and analysis in two stages. First, excerpts from informant accounts provide the detail of what the work is of a social work student, social work academic and social worker. Second, the narrative and journal excerpts are analysed to identify what texts organised and activated this work to happen in the ways that it did. The analysis presented in this and the next three chapters locate the organising policy texts in informant narratives that activate and regulate the work of informants. All four chapters analyse ideological codes, and organisational, institutional and ideological discourses based on informant narratives and associated texts. This includes discussion of connections to a larger intertextual complex where higher order texts, formulated elsewhere, regulate the more specialised texts that enter into the informant's everyday lives and are activated by them (Smith, 2006a).

The informants are similarly and differently located in terms of role function, race, gender and class in a social work course at RU. Smith's (2001; 2005) methods of 'text-reader conversations', 'inter-textuality', and the adapted schema of the four inter-related types and levels of discourse: ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses and ideological discourses (as explained in Chapter 3) are used in the analysis of narrative excerpts and policy text data. As discussed in Chapter 3, I drew on the following broad categories of texts; work; people, organisations, institutions and committees; and ideological codes, organisational, institutional and ideological discourses to analyse narratives and texts. In the analysis that follows the narratives, I then identify where key policy texts and discourses are active in the informants' accounts of their work of being a social work student, a social work academic and a social worker. One or more of the texts identified in the narratives are then used to provide an entry point into unpacking the role the texts and discourses play in making people eligible, or not, to participate in activating the ideological codes. Due to space considerations, sections from the narrative excerpts are deleted where not relevant to the analysis, identified by three dots [...]. As discussed in

Chapter 3, any identifying data in the policy texts is changed to the composite descriptor 'Reach University (RU)', and any data that mentions an individual person is actually a composite of a number of people and events from the data.

In this chapter, I outline how the ability to activate the ideological code of the 'good social work student' is particularly shaped by racial epistemologies contained within the implicit and explicit curriculum. There is a presumption of proficiency in the dominant English-based language and culture embedded in western academic values and conventions, including whiteness, individualism, monolingualism and neoliberalism. The explication of the ideological code of the 'good social work student' also reveals embedded gendered and classed assumptions that inter-relate with racialised assumption and relations.

The excerpts referred to in this chapter are from mutual ethnography conversations conducted for this project between Norah Hosken (researcher) and Denalh Hopeng (informant) held between 2011 and 2016 in Australia and in South Sudan. Due to word limitations, the excerpts only show Denalh's side of the interview conversations, and exclude my own questions, responses and prompts. The full conversations are available in the data as stored. These excerpts convey aspects of the significance of how race, ethnicity, gender and class, as systems of oppression and privilege, are organised by texts in two hierarchically inter-related educational organisations, the AASW and RU, and experienced in the work of the social work student.

DENALH'S EDUCATION BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY

This chapter commences with a brief, and inevitably inadequate, summary of aspects of the history of Southern Sudan to provide context for the reader to understand and consider Denalh's experiences related to education. There are still very few accounts of the history of South Sudan written by South Sudanese people. I draw from some of the available written accounts of this history and complement this with Denalh's accounts of her lived experiences. Following the guide from Denalh, and scholars of South Sudan (for example, Breidlid, Said, & Breidlid, 2014; Thomas, 2015), I refer to Southern Sudan prior to, and South Sudan following, independence.

From 1898, the United Kingdom and Egypt in a condominium arrangement administered all of Sudan as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Schomerus & Allen, 2010). However, northern and southern Sudan were administered as separate provinces. In the early 1920s, the British passed laws that required passports for travel between the north and south zones of Sudan. In the south, English, Dinka, Bari, Nuer, Latuko, Shilluk, Azande and Pari (Lafon) were considered official languages, while in the north, Arabic and English were used as official languages. Islam was discouraged by the British in the south, where Christian missionaries were permitted and encouraged to work (Schomerus & Allen, 2010).

There are accounts of the forced conscription by the British of local Southern Sudanese peoples into the British army and the repeated use of violence by the British against local populations in the south (Schomerus & Allen, 2010). The British Civil Secretary of the condominium Government enacted a 'Southern Policy', to minimise Egyptian influence in Southern Sudan, the resultant effects of which are now analysed by Schomerus and Allen (2010, p.37) to have included 'acute limitations on economic and educational development as compared to the north or other parts of British Africa'. Additionally, the use of tribal categories, as interpreted and constructed by the British, and the co-option of perceived 'chiefs' tended to 'reify particular indigenous customs and promote practices and beliefs associated with selected male hierarchies' (Schomerus & Allen, 2010, p.35).

Sudan gained independence from the joint British and Egyptian government administration on January 1, 1956. At the time, the new country hosted about 600 ethnic groups speaking over 400 languages (Bredlid, et al., 2014). Denalh agrees with the accounts that many southerners felt betrayed by the British, because they were largely excluded from the new government (Schomerus & Allen, 2010). Most written accounts identify that the north was (and continues to be) predominately Muslim, while the southern regions were, and are, mostly Christian and animist (for example, Schomerus & Allen, 2010; Thomas, 2015; Rolandsen & Daly, 2016). However, Denalh recalls in her childhood in Southern Sudan many Arab, Muslim people living peacefully as part of her community, and other communities she would visit. There was some inter-marriage between southern and northern Sudanese people, and between those that straddled colonialist imposed country borders.

In the first civil war, from 1955 to 1972, southern insurgents, fought against the North for greater autonomy. The second Civil War erupted when the President introduced Sharia Law and reneged on the Addis Ababa Agreement's provisions for a referendum in Abyei. It is reported that approximately two million people died in Southern Sudan during the Second Civil War that lasted from 1983 to 2005. Like Denalh and her family, four million people were displaced at least once, often numerous times, during the war. It is estimated that less than one per cent of girls in Southern Sudan during the long civil wars completed primary school. In 2010, available statistics indicated that 72% of women had never attended school, and 19% could read and write compared to 36% of South Sudanese men who could read and write (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013, pp.99-100). One year after Denalh's arrival in Australia, the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement was brokered between the National Congress Party (NCP) based in Khartoum in Northern Sudan and the southern-based rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). It was hoped this would bring peace to a population who had experienced civil war, with some intermissions, for 50 years (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013).

SOUTH SUDANESE AND WHITE-EURO SETTLER EDUCATION SYSTEMS

In the following extract, Denalh describes some of her experiences of childhood and education growing up in the 1980s in Southern and North Sudan during the civil war. The brief history above, and the excerpts below, explain some of the differences between the education systems in Sudan and Australia. This sets the scene to understand how Denalh's latter experiences studying welfare in a TAFE, and then social work in a university system, in Australia were shaped within processes and relations of colonisation, war, race, ethnicity, power, gender and class.

Narrative 2: Denalh - 'I wondered if I was in the right place, English was my fourth language'

I grew up in the 1980s in Southern Sudan during the Second Sudanese Civil War. My mother is a Southern Sudan Dinka woman and my own father was a Northern Sudan Arab man who resided in Southern Sudan. My father did not live with us but ran a shop close by. In the good times before the war, I would often go and see my father

in the shop. ...The way we learned at school was by repeating what the teacher said, trying to memorise what the teacher said, and by tests. I grew up with Dinka, Nuer and Arabic as languages I used daily. I always wanted to go to school; I wanted to become a doctor... I saw my father killed during the war. My mother then had to live without the support and protection of a husband/father role.

In 1984, as a young girl, I had to leave my village. ... Due to the war, bombs, guns and violence, we fled, my mother leading, within Southern Sudan...My mother had to earn a living, and often made and traded local beer for food and other things. ...In our community, we are guided by the principles that all decisions and actions are judged in process and outcome as good or bad for the whole community- not just for one person. This includes an obligation to help others, according to what people had. In the war years, we here helped at times, but so many had almost nothing. The war kept coming and we eventually had to flee, with many others, to Khartoum in North Sudan. In Khartoum, we were seen as inferior by the lighter skinned Arab people, and accused of bringing disease and other problems. Our lives were so harsh. ...In North Sudan, I was not given good grades, because as a South Sudanese child I could never be given better marks than the lighter skinned Arab children. The way we learned at school was similar to primary school in Southern Sudan, except there was no opportunity to speak my Southern Sudanese languages... I was good at school, but in my culture, girls were told to leave early. I married a man I loved who had also fled southern Sudan– it was my escape... I would not get to go to school again until many years later when, with my husband and my own children, we were accepted to Australia as refugees. When I arrived in Australia, I had no English, an interrupted primary and secondary education in southern and then North Sudan, oral and written skills in Arabic, oral skills in Dinka and Nuer, and some oral skills in Shilluk. When I started at TAFE in Australia, I was trying to learn and convert the English into Arabic (which I could write) and then back into my own language, Dinka. As Arabic is written right to left, opposite to English, there were so many challenges. When I went to the English as a second language (ESL) class at the local TAFE, at first I wondered if I was in the right place, English was my fourth language (D11, December 2011).

In the excerpt above, Denalh refers to the inter-dependant southern Sudanese, and in her case, Dinka, epistemology, axiology and ontology, which has been described as 'the good of the group superseded[ing] the needs or even safety of the individual' (Deal, 2010, p.571) where this 'form of communal ontology ... challenges the Western focus on individualism' (Baak, 2015, p.125). Denalh refers to living in communities organised through systems of 'social reciprocity' (Thomas, 2015) principles and barter rather than money, that contrast with the majority of white-Euro Australian cultural practices. Denalh's description of her experience of education in Southern and North Sudan indicates this was based more on the 'transmission, or reproductive model' (Ballard & Clanchy, 1991) where the learner listens and observes, does not question, and there is little reading. In Denalh's life and education in Southern Sudan more value was placed on spoken texts, where speech was used to transmit history, culture and values (Nicholas & Williams, 2003) and education included community meetings as well as formal education at school. This orality approach to literacy and education is embedded within the inter-dependant and community-oriented cultural beliefs and practices which places high value on the communal and located nature of oral histories and meaning making for survival, culture and learning. This contrasts with the higher value placed on what is written, rather than what is said, in most written literate cultures (Nicholas & Williams, 2003). White-Euro Australian education systems contrast with those in South Sudan as they are embedded within more individual cultural values and 'neoliberal nuclear family formations- the hypercompetitive, neotraditionalist mobile family seeking to capitalise on the uneven spread of resources in order to maximise the futures of its own children' (Garrett, et al., 2016, p.ix).

Denalh, her family and her communities' stories are interwoven with experiences of hope, collective sociality, resistance, adaptation, resilience and extraordinary survival in, often, extremely harsh geographic, climatic, economic and social contexts. Denalh refers to the ethnic racism she was subject to when attending school in Khartoum. Eventually accepted under humanitarian entry for resettlement to Australia in 2004, Denalh started to attend TAFE and learn English.

THE WORK OF A SOCIAL WORK STUDENT

In 2011, Denalh was in the first year of studying social work, after having graduated from the Diploma of Community Welfare Work course at a public Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institution that is part of the Australian Vocational Education and Training (VET) sector. In the following excerpt, Denalh compares her experience of the work involved in studying at TAFE to her first year at university.

Narrative 3: Denalh - 'I want to be an example for my children in education'

Being the only South Sudanese and black woman in the [TAFE] class, I felt scared. The class was nearly all white Australians; they spoke fluent English, without having to think. I often wondered if I should continue putting myself in this difficult situation. However, the encouragement I received from the TAFE teachers enabled me to keep going... My English level was not up to the level of the class – at times, I felt dumb. The individual time I could have with the teachers, and being the only Sudanese in the course made me keep going. I felt I had to stand up and do my best. I want to be an example for my children in education. I did not want to waste the chance I had to study in an Australian course. I also want to be an example for women in my community to show them we can study, as women often sit back. At times, I could not afford books, petrol or the internet. This made completing my studies harder. Many of the other TAFE students also seem to have little money. I was scared to go from TAFE to the university. My first year at the university has been so much harder than TAFE, mainly because there is not the same consideration and help from everyone. The social work course at university is not as much of a community as the welfare course at TAFE was. I hope I can do it all, but am not sure if I can meet the expectations without the sort of help I received at TAFE. I am not sure if I can meet the standard at the university (D12, December 2011, Denalh talking with Audre in South Sudan).

The experience of the informant of self-doubt as she transitioned from TAFE to university is indicative of the hierarchical, class-based relationship between public vocational education and training (VET) and university sectors. As detailed in Chapter 2, the vocationally oriented

technical and further education (TAFE) institutes form a perceived lower-status, 'second tier' of tertiary education to the higher-status, first tier of higher education, mainly universities (Moodie, 2009a). The perceived sense of community including a shared student experience of limited income, and opportunity for individual teaching attention provided to Denalh in the TAFE welfare course, reflects the VET sector's more working-class orientation (Goozee, 2001; Wheelahan, 2010; Hosken, Land, Goldingay, Barnes, & Murphy, 2013). This includes the VET sector's expertise in supporting a range of students, most of whom have not completed secondary education without interruption. VET outperforms universities in almost every area of student under-representation, reaching nearly twice as many low-income students, more than twice as many rural students; and four times as many Indigenous students (Mackenzie, 2012; Hosken, Goldingay, et al., 2013). The TAFE Diploma course provided more opportunities than the university social work course for one-on-one support (Hosken, Goldingay, et al., 2013), identified by Denalh as a significant factor in her successful completion.

The informant describes in the above narrative how she is made to feel 'dumb', referring, literally, to not being able to speak the oral and written language of instruction and assessment at the TAFE, English, with the same, perceived, effortless ability as most of the English native speaking Australian born students who numerically dominated the course. The self-doubt experienced by the informant as she transitions to the university is also reflective of the 'imposter phenomenon'. Like many other women, and peoples from minority cultural backgrounds, Denalh devalues her own abilities and experiences feelings of fraudulence not quite believing she deserves to be at university, not attributing her success at TAFE to her own abilities, despite the evidence (Clance & Imes, 1978). Like many people without privilege from birth, Denalh is grateful for the opportunity to study in Australia. This gratitude itself is a motivating factor for completing study despite many obstacles.

Interpersonal, organisational and institutional racism

The description by the informant in the above narrative of being scared as the only black person in the class at TAFE possibly reflects a broader Australian societal context. Numerous studies report high levels of interpersonal racism and systemic or institutional racism, more

so against Indigenous peoples (for example, HREOC, 1997; AHRC, 2005; AHRC, 2012; Meldrum-Hanna, et al., 2016) and visibly different minority culture background peoples (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007b), including African Australians (AHRC, 2009c; Seidel & Hopkins, 2013; Bayou, 2016). One study reported nearly two-thirds of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) Victorians experienced racism in the previous 12 months and 65% felt that racism negatively affected their life (Ferdinand, et al., 2013).

Communal ontology within a dominant neoliberal individual ontology

In Narrative 3, Denalh describes her motivation to be a role model for her children and the women in her community. This is similar to findings in previous research with Sudanese, and more broadly African, Australian background social work students. Dale Wache and Carole Zufferey (2013) reported students were motivated to continue study to improve, not only their own life chances, but more importantly, the access and position of their families and ethnic communities. This relates to the dominant 'communal ontology' (Baak, 2015, p.125) said to be characteristic of the majority of South Sudanese ethnic groups and communities, that contrasts with the more western neoliberal ontology of individualism (Baak, 2015). This does not mean that white-Euro Australian peoples do not have some elements of communal ontology or practice in their particular constellations of family, cultural, class, gender, ethnic situations, but rather, that the dominant ontology is individualism.

The communal ontology involves a cultural, mutual survival, communal ethic to assist family and members of one's ethnic community to achieve opportunities in Australia, back in their country of origin, and in the diaspora. This is described as 'webs of obligation and duty... where South Sudanese societies, across ethnic groups, display high levels of social cohesion, solidarity and autonomy' (Hutton, 2014, p.8). South Sudanese peoples are said to 'function within complex webs of duty and obligation that define who they are in the world and how they relate to the world around them' (Hutton, 2014, p.8). In the next narrative, the concealed presumption in the texts of the RU and the AASW that students either are western, individualists or will become such, is revealed.

In 2012, Denalh was in her second year of the social work degree, and in response to my questions and prompts focuses discussion in the narrative excerpt that follows, on the difficulties she experienced in being a student. Denalh talked about how key texts, her engagement in classes, and assessment, presume an English speaking and writing student, and a student who was raised in, or familiar with, white-Euro Australian cultural contexts, meanings, values, behaviours and events. In the excerpt, Denalh describes some of her experiences of being student who is a South Sudanese Australian refugee background, female with caring responsibilities, in receipt of a low income, at a predominately-white university.

Narrative 4: Denalh - 'My pride in belonging to the newest country in the world'.

I am pleased that my TAFE course, and my being a South Sudanese refugee background person, helped me get into the university. I love learning, but find it so hard to get time to study and write assignments. This is harder for me learning English as my fourth language as an adult in Australia, and still learning it. All assignments must be in English and must show I understand the course materials, which are nearly all written by white people, or by a few black people who are very familiar with western ways. It has not always been possible for me to submit the assignments on the exact due date it says in the unit guide, especially when I must submit them electronically. Sometimes I do not have internet because we cannot afford it, or I cannot use a computer because my children need them, nor can I always leave my children and go and use the university library. I am a mother, ...not a young white single person with no responsibilities. I thought the university saying it was flexible and offered personalised learning would mean they would understand my needs.

I also thought as I am studying social work that the course would better fit everyone's needs, especially as the AASW say they are concerned to improve social inclusion and wellbeing. To request an extension is embarrassing and requires so much work. Some lecturers demand a medical certificate or a lot of detail about why

you cannot get the assignment in on time, or a draft of the essay. Some lecturers say they do not like to have to request this, but it is the university policy. I know you can apply for a special consideration for things like a family bereavement. In my culture, there are so many family bereavements here, in South Sudan and in many other parts of the world where South Sudanese fled as refugees. Mourning can be for 40 days in the home. Caring for a community member who has lost someone can mean staying with them in their home, or going in rosters to them to help. Also, my family is much bigger than the western family. I cannot make an application every time we must mourn a death or celebrate a life. I cannot afford the time or money in petrol and fees to go the doctor to get a medical certificate. I try not to use buses as we were abused on the bus several times for being black, and it scares me. I cannot access a bulk-billing doctor, as their lists were full. TAFE was much more understanding about due dates than the university, they gave extensions without judgement or making it almost impossible to apply.

I did ask my social work lecturer, they are all white, in my first year here at university if the assignments all must be in English because it does not say this in the unit guide or student handbook. I also asked if there were any African authors I could read that wrote about the topics in the study guide. I was a bit hopeful as the university advertises on its website and pamphlets it has a global and international focus. The lecturer was nice, but made me feel ashamed. She said 'of course all assignments have to be in English' and that she did not know of any African authors who wrote on the topics. She told me I could research in the library to find African authors, and gave me information about help to improve my academic English... I knew that I could not question anymore, I had to be silent or be seen as being too emotional or causing trouble. There are few places in the course where I can share my pride in belonging to the newest country in the world. As language is culture, it would take a lifetime for me to be as good as an Australian born person. I will not get the same good marks as people who are Australian born. It is difficult for me to ask questions of the male lecturers when I do not understand, and it is not acceptable to ask for a conversation or appointment alone with a male in my community. I think

these things should be talked about as part of settling into university. The lecturers should offer ways of communicating with and supporting Black women.

The way of writing and being assessed in English universities is so different and particular, even from my latter schooling in Arabic. The referencing is very hard, and I find the referencing guides difficult to follow. The ways that South Sudanese use language is communal not individual. As an oral culture, we relied on stories and songs to carry our history. These are many, blended voices and stories, it is the communal contribution that enables the history to go forward. In Australia, it is all individual. You must find one actual individual, who wrote an exact word, and even then, you cannot use the exact word, you must change it. Why? It also takes me so much longer to read, write and understand than other students who have English and who grew up with the things we study, talk about and can more easily understand the examples the lecturer gives in the Australian context like the government, policies and values like working on your own. I have to translate everything and sit with it for a long time to try to understand. If I could submit some assignments in Arabic that would be so much easier. Even if some assignments were about what happens in Africa or other parts of the world, I would have more of a chance. If some assessment was oral, like in Sudan, it might be better, and if we had some exams rather than all essays. In addition, I cannot just go to the library to study, or tell people to go away when I am trying to study. For women, we have more limited social independence than men. I can only not be at my house if I have university classes, or I am picking up children, seeing relatives or shopping for food or doing something with our community. The university study help person suggested I tell my family that I cannot spend time with them; that I have to study. I did not go back to see the study people again. I cannot choose not to receive family and friends from the community when they visit. It is not possible to tell them not to come to my house or to ask them to leave once they are there. In our culture is important to always welcome people – it does not matter if they have not said they were coming, or if they are earlier or later than when they said they might come – it is always a joy to see them. In South Sudan, it may have taken hours, days or weeks of walking or trying to get somewhere... we often did not know if our relatives or

friends were alive or not- when you finally see someone it is a celebration (D16, 2013).

In this narrative, Denalh describes the difficulties she had complying with the university requirements conveyed to her through a text, the RU (PRU42a) *Unit Guide*. Specifically, Denalh described the additional work involved in being a non-white-Euro Australian student who has English as a fourth language including trying to learn the 'implicit curriculum' which refers to 'the educational environment in which the explicit curriculum is presented' (Bogo & Wayne, 2013, p.3). This work involved having to: understand and study using English written, and English spoken, resources within white-Euro dominated spaces to complete the required assessments in written English; use specified referencing styles; gain the pre-supposed knowledge of white-Euro Australian societal processes, history and values that was not taught but necessary to understand lectures, tutorials, and assessments ; demonstrate understanding of the course materials written mainly by white-Euro scholars; and to submit them in English electronically; on the exact due date specified in the unit guide.

Denalh identifies the disjuncture that between the rhetoric of RU (PRU9a) marketing of an international and global focus yet, in actual practice, being monolingual and monocultural in pedagogy and values, the language of instruction and of assessment. Denalh also comments on her perception of the gap between the AASW (2016b) statements about inclusion and well-being and how social work education is actually organised. This disjuncture experienced by minority cultural background students has been reported in many studies, typical of organisations, like RU and the AASW, with the 'white socio-spatiality' (Dwyer & Jones, 2000) and 'white institutional presence' (Gusa, 2010) as discussed in Chapter 2.

Within Denalh's account are references to the RU and government texts that organise the work of students and lecturers: the RU (PRU17) *Unit Guide* ; the *Commonwealth Government Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) Act* as enacted in RU (PRU10c) *Schedule A: English Language Requirements For [RU] Coursework Programs pursuant to the Admission Criteria and Selection (Higher Education Courses)*

Procedure; the RU (PRU34a) *Course Design and Delivery Procedure* that states ‘All teaching, learning and assessment is in English unless: another language is used to develop or assess proficiency in that other language, or the use of another language is otherwise approved by the Academic Board’; the RU (PRU4a) *Special Consideration Policy*; the RU (PRU42a) *Study Guide*; the RU (PRU42b) *Student Handbook*, and the university referencing guide.

THE ASSW, THE ASWEAS AND PEDAGOGY

In Narrative 4, Denalh makes indirect reference to several AASW texts that organise her work, expressing disappointment that even though she was studying social work, the course did not fit her needs, and did not embody the social inclusion the AASW state commitment to. The AASW regulates social work courses in Australia setting out the principles, standards and graduate attributes, and criteria for the accreditation of a professional social work program. The AASW (2012) ASWEAS, does not specifically address implicit curriculum. In regards to pedagogy, the AASW (2012, p.9) ASWEAS requires social work education to ‘use ... contemporary pedagogical knowledge and the associated processes of learning... [and that] both content and delivery in social work education will demonstrate the profession’s core values of respect for persons, social justice and professional integrity as defined in the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics*. The AASW (2012, p.20) ASWEAS also states that social work education is to make ‘use of adult learning principles enabling students to be self-directed and goal oriented [to] maximise opportunities for mutual learning by both student and educator’. The AASW does not specify how these pedagogical principles should be enacted. In contrast, the equivalent body in America, the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) introduced a new framework for accreditation of social work education programs via their *Educational policy and accreditation standards* (EPAS) that specifically recognises implicit curriculum as part of curriculum design. This requires social work courses to demonstrate an ‘integration of a program’s mission and goals, explicit curriculum, implicit curriculum, and assessment of educational outcomes’ (Bogo & Wayne, 2013, p.2). The implicit curriculum in American social work education includes:

Policies, procedures, and processes related to admission, advisement, retention, and termination; student participation in governance; administrative structures; and

faculty and resources. It is manifested through policies that are fair and transparent in substance and implementation and through the qualifications of the faculty. All of the above are said to inform the student's learning and development through the culture of human interchange, the spirit of inquiry, support for difference and diversity, and values and priorities in the educational environment, including the field practicum. The EPAS mandates that programs describe and discuss how the learning environment models affirmation and respect for diversity and its specific plans to improve their success in this area (Bogo & Wayne, 2013, p.3).

The need for Australian social work courses to demonstrate consideration of the implicit curriculum appears a valuable strategy to promote the anti-racist, decolonising pedagogical practice indicated as needed by the data in this chapter, and as advocated as necessary for Indigenous and non-Indigenous social work education in Australia (Green & Baldry, 2008, 2013). However, this strategy may be limited given the generally low status of social work courses within university disciplinary hierarchies. Social work's low status in the university has been attributed to a range of factors including: its applied disciplinary nature (Green, 2006); being a numerically female dominated profession (Huppertz, 2010); the lower funding per social work student from the government compared to other similar disciplines (ACHSSW, 2012); the smaller number of students; and less income generation by social work academics through research grants (Green, 2006). In addition, social work courses are now predominantly located within health faculties, where the perceived 'quasi' health credentials of social work cannot compete with more positivist, biomedical metrics of academic or research excellence that govern health. For these reasons, unless the implicit curriculum provisions were also taken up at faculty and university wide levels, the ability to make changes may be limited. At a university level, the introduction of standards that aimed at the implicit curriculum could potentially serve to address concerns identified in this chapter regarding the injustices of 'white socio-spatiality' and 'white institutional presence' (Gusa, 2010).

To examine ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses and ideological discourses, the texts referred to in Denalh's story in Narrative 4, above are analysed. I have chosen one text, the RU (PRU4a) *Special Consideration Policy*, to commence

examination. The work involved in applying for special consideration is described by Denalh as 'requiring so much work', 'embarrassing', time-consuming, and costly in terms of petrol and the fees involved in getting a medical certificate. The RU (PRU4a) *Special Consideration Policy* is a section of the RU (PRU6) *Assessment (Higher Education Courses) Procedure*.

The RU (PRU4a) *Special Consideration Policy* requires that special consideration is only made available for students where there are 'circumstances outside his or her control'. The circumstances are then defined as: 'an acute medical condition'; 'compassionate reasons (such as: the recent death of a close family member; family breakdown; military, jury or emergency service obligations; or 'hardship/ trauma' (such as severe disruption to domestic arrangements or impact of crime)'. The policy states that 'circumstances within a student's control... will not be accepted as grounds for special consideration'. Examples are provided in the policy text of circumstances considered to be within a student's control '(such as misreading timetables, exam stress, holidays or family occasions) and minor ailments (such as colds, sleeplessness or gastric upsets)' and then immediately following, that 'Religious or faith based issues are also not in themselves grounds for special consideration'. Documentary evidence is also required to accompany the application. Only certain events or circumstances such as recent death, family breakdown and crime, are considered as 'outside the control' of the student.

I suggest the emphasis on 'control' in this text is an example of how many of the founding values and practices of the individualist, western, bourgeoisie, masculinist academic tradition (Ferree & Zippel, 2015) remain reflected in, imposed and regulated by, the policies of RU. In this academic tradition, individual control over one's body is 'a potent symbol of the extent to which their 'owners' possess 'self-control' (Lupton 1996, p.17 in Muncey, 2010, p.13). Self-control and 'self-management', valued in western, enlightenment informed 'objective' knowledge standards, shape western academia, relying on 'disinterested reason' (Plowman & Smith, 2011). Self-control is required to achieve the Cartesian split between mind and body, removing emotion from intellect, to achieve perceived objectivity (Smith, 1974).

There are fundamental differences between, and significant variations within, the histories of discrimination of different racial/ethnic groupings of peoples such as white women, black women, coloured women, black men, indigenous peoples and minority cultural background peoples. However, there are some commonalities in how each group was/is positioned in terms of oppression and discrimination in the domestic and civil spheres as possessing less intellect and being of a lower status compared to the ideal of white, 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell, 1995). As white, Australian writer, feminist and suffragist, Louisa Lawson (1890) observed in 1890, 'Men govern the world and the schemes upon which all our institutions are founded show men's thoughts only'. Tellingly, Lawson did not write that it was white, able-bodied, heterosexual men's thoughts that govern[ed] the world.

Coming from a collectivist, communal culture, Denalh does not value, and is not able to activate the individualised, control of the self, described above. The ontology of her communal culture not only requires consideration of the community before self, but views acting individually as indicating disrespect and immaturity. The difference in ontology is illustrated in an example in Narrative 4. Denalh described being perplexed and offended by the RU 'study help person' whose advice was that Denalh tell her family that she must study and, therefore, cannot spend time with them. This was not possible or desirable for Denalh who is obligated to, and experiences joy when receiving members of her community whenever they visit. The implication in the text and narrative, is that to study successfully at RU, Denalh should become western, and behave as an individual who can control her own life.

The combination of the criteria for special consideration only makes sense, I suggest, when the underlying assumption is revealed that student who can activate the ideological code of the 'good student', would not generally require this sort of consideration, or if they did, they could afford the time and money necessary to meet the requirements of the policy. The relations of race/ethnicity, gender and class are implicated in defining what is, or is not, inside and outside a student's control. Assumptions regarding values and relations of race, ethnicity and language are embedded in the text.

While not having English as a first language and culture is clearly outside a person's control, it is not included in the examples provided in the policy text, and therefore not requested or considered. The 'good student' is one who is less likely to experience circumstances happening 'outside of their control'. This is more likely to be an individual who is: 'care-less' (Grummell, Devine, & Lynch, 2009, p.192), a person without caring responsibilities; without cultural obligations to self and extended family or community; 'middle-class' in the sense of having sufficient access to income to afford to undertake the two lengthy unpaid placements and the social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985) to fit into white organisational office culture of the placement agency; able to afford the internet, reliable individual access to computers, stable housing, electricity, text books etc.; not living in postcodes of 'disadvantage' (Vinson, 2007) with entrenched lack of access to paid work and poor infrastructure, and therefore not as exposed to crime or able to afford security; in a mental and physical health state that is in synch with resourced and dominant white-Euro understandings of mental health (Jakubec, 2009) and health (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2015), and does not require medical or other treatment, or the time involved in seeking or dealing with such; and mobile with ability to use public transport, or have access to use of a car, with expectations of safe travel. Many peoples from visibly different racial minority groups, similar to Denalh's experience described in Narrative 4, experience public transport, and other forms of travel as a dangerous undertaking (AHRC, 2009c).

The characteristics of the ideological code of the 'good social work student' as described in this paragraph are more likely to be activated by a white 'neoliberal responsibilised self' (Lund, 2015, p.164), the 'responsible, entrepreneurial and financially independent [self]...central to neoliberalism' (Garrett, et al., 2016, p.x). In summary, the ideological code of the 'good social work student' is more likely to be activated by a white-Euro Australian, middle-classed, able-bodied, male.

ORGANISATIONAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSES

In this section, I locate the ideological discourses that shape the institutional and organisational discourses and the nature of the ideological code of the 'good social work student'. Analysis of the texts contained in Narrative 4, reveal institutional discourses of

flexibility, excellence, merit and ideological discourses of neoliberal economic, political and cultural values and practices.

In applying for special consideration, Denalh described how her South Sudanese episteme including values, worldviews, assumptions and principles do not fit and were not valued in curricula, pedagogy or assessment. The South Sudanese episteme, as described by Denalh, includes interdependence, communality, collectivity, orality, welcoming customs and life-event related views of time. Despite the university marketing itself as having an international and global focus (PRU2), the informant learns that the requirement to learn and be assessed only in English is the norm. The limitations of monolingualism in mainstream curriculum and assessment are recognised to 'have disserved Indigenous and minority students who live in remote contexts of the Americas, Australia and the Pacific' (Heugh, Prinsloo, Makgamatha, Diedericks, & Winnaar, 2016, p.4). Denalh experiences language 'not as a system of discrete sets of skills but as a series of social practices and actions that are embedded in a web of social relations' (Garcia & Flores, 2013, p.148). Language is 'related to the portals of power' (Heugh, 2011, p.16) where the dominant 'language functions as the gatekeeper to socio-economic-political power for the majority of people in these contexts, it is access to this variety that represents the desired capital associated with equity' (Heugh, 2011, p.5).

The university requires that international applicants must prove, or undertake and achieve a certain level of English proficiency on English language tests (PRU60). However, Denalh did not have to prove her English proficiency as part of her application as a domestic student from a non-English speaking background. Denalh applied for university using the RU Credit for Prior Learning provided under the RU (PRU8) *Credit Transfer and Recognition Policy* and the AASW (2012) *ASWEAS*. This was based on her successful completion of the TAFE Diploma of Welfare course combined with consideration under the RU (PRU10a) *Schedule C Access and Equity Programs and Eligibility Criteria*. These criteria provide that: 'Non-English Speaking Background... Applicants must have been born outside of Australia in a Non-English speaking country, speak a language other than English at home and arrived in Australia less than 10 years prior to application'. Denalh was not made aware that the whole curriculum, instruction and assessment regime of the course would be in English only, and

overwhelmingly white-Euro Australian focused. Denalh described her experience of the university that the curricula, pedagogy and assessments are overwhelmingly Anglophone, not inclusive of, or recognising South Sudanese, African or any non-white episteme. The historically entrenched saturation of Australian universities with a 'single Western, euro-centric knowledge subsuming all others' (O'Shea, Lysaght, Roberts, & Harwood, 2016, p.12) has been identified by many scholars and activists (Moreton-Robinson, 2004a; Earnest, Joyce, De Mori, & Silvagni, 2010; Larkin, 2011a; Moreton-Robinson, 2011). For example, Professor Steve Larkin (2011a) comments on the institutional and structural factors that operate to exclude Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as students and academics:

This exclusion is institutional in nature and is due to the existence of a dominant epistemology in teaching, assessment and research that serves to devalue Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander methodologies and ways of knowing. This dominant epistemology – that has been referred to by critical race theorists as the neo-liberal positivist epistemology – pervades all aspects of Australia's higher education institutions: including pedagogical approaches, the structure and governance of institutions, staffing and research. Its continued dominance is due to its perceived objectivity and neutrality – but in operation, it is anything but objective and neutral (Larkin, 2011a, p.8).

Carole Leathwood (2005, p.317) reports that 'the values of the white, masculinist establishment and a capitalist economy remain dominant within the wider education system and within our universities'. Specifically referring to the role of assessment, Leathwood (2005) also notes that it provides:

a rationale and legitimacy for the social structures and power relations of modern day societies, and for one's place within these. It is concerned directly with what is taught and what is valued within our education systems. It can influence not only how we see ourselves, but also our social relations with others and how we see them (Leathwood, 2005, pp.307-308).

The importance for previously excluded students to be able to see their social locations including race, ethnicity, gender and class represented in staff profiles has been

documented (Hosken, 2010). This importance is also recognised in the *Global Standards for the Education and Training of the Social Work Profession* (Sewpaul & Jones, 2005, p.10) adopted by the three organisations said to represent social work at an international level. Section 7.12 of the Global Standards states, 'In its [social work courses] recruitment, appointment, promotion and tenure principles and procedures, the school reflects the diversities of the population that it interacts with and serves'.

MISRECOGNITION, EPISTEMIC INJUSTICE AND EPISTEMIC VIOLENCE

The experience of shame as described by Denalh in Narrative 4, is consistent with the phenomena of misrecognition, defined by Alex Honneth as 'the withdrawal of social recognition, in the phenomena of humiliation and disrespect' (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 134). The adverse impact on the social work student informant of the predominately white-Euro settler centric curriculum, pedagogy and episteme of the social work course, and the 'white institutional presence' (Gusa, 2010) of RU, and of the AASW (as discussed in Chapter 2), also indicate that injustices have occurred. Definitions provided by Miranda Fricker (2007, p.1) would categorise Denalh's experiences as constituting epistemic injustice, which is 'a wrong done to someone in their capacity as a knower'. The informant's experience of shame when the lecturer did not adequately hear the complexity of her question about language of assessment is consistent with Fricker's (2007, p.1) first identified form of epistemic injustice, testimonial injustice, occurring when '...prejudices cause a hearer to give a deflated level of credibility to a speaker's word'. Denalh's negative experiences of the whiteness of the explicit and 'implicit curriculum' (Bogo & Wayne, 2013) reflect Fricker's (2007, p.1) second type of epistemic injustice, hermeneutical injustice, which 'occurs at a prior stage, when a gap in collective interpretive resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences'. Both testimonial injustice and hermeneutical injustice are said to share a similar origin in 'identity prejudices' and cause a shared harm of 'prejudicial exclusion from the participation in the spread of knowledge' (Fricker, 2007, p.4). However, Fricker (2007, p.4) also points to important differences between the two types of epistemic injustice. The source of testimonial injustice is located in 'the hearer' whereas the source of hermeneutical injustice is located in 'structural inequalities.'

Denalh's descriptions in her narratives, also invite consideration of the work of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivack (1994, p.78), especially in her use of the term 'epistemic violence' in her seminal text, 'Can the Subaltern Speak'. This describes the silencing of marginalised groups through the 'epistemic violence of imperialist law and education' (Spivack, 1994, p.78). As described earlier in this chapter, Denalh lived with the devastating legacies of British and Egyptian colonialist rule in her home country of Southern Sudan, and then studied in the white-Euro settler colonialist education systems in Australia. Spivack (1994, p.76) argued that colonialism privilege[s] western epistemic knowledge and practices and denigrated or disappeared local or indigenous knowledges and practices. Drawing on Foucault, Spivack (1994, p.76) described how non-Western epistemic knowledges were deemed as 'inadequate to their task, or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity'.

The ideology of whiteness is apparent in the presumption of whiteness and lack of incorporation of non-white knowledge in the 'implicit' and explicit curriculum (Bogo & Wayne, 2013). The pedagogy, 'spatiality' and 'white institutional presence' (Gusa, 2010) of RU and the AASW appear, in combination, to meet the definition of epistemic injustice. Denalh used silence to manage her non-white 'self' in response to the axiology, ontology, epistemology, and pedagogy within the white institutional presence of the Australian settler, colonialist education model. This colonialist education model is entwined with the white-Euro settler 'professional project' of social work. Denalh's description of shame in response to the lecturer who advised assignments must be written in English indicates the normalisation of a presumed 'naturalness' of a western, English language-based epistemology. The 'racialized emotional labour' (Evans & Moore, 2015) required of Denalh in experiencing shame and then having to silence herself in these contexts or fear being seen as 'too emotional or as causing trouble' (Narrative 4), appears to meet Spivack's definition of epistemic violence. The use of silence also encompasses the 'racial resilience and resistance [that enable] people of colour to participate in racially oppressive institutions while maintaining and valuing their human dignity' (Evans & Moore, 2015, p.441).

The narratives in this chapter reveal that although mastering western, white academic conventions, language and literacy, epistemology and axiology are core to the

ability to be a good student in the university, the white-Euro Australian nature of this requirement is not overtly stated in the key university assessment texts or marketing material. This imposition of white standard forms of literacy and knowledge making seem consistent with epistemic violence when it is not stated transparently that the white standard exists as one of several possible forms, and is the required one at the university.

THE INDIVIDUALIST ORIENTATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

Western academic conventions such as referencing are fundamentally different to the epistemological and ontological framework of the informant's Sudanese culture and language. The Sudanese collectivist culture involves interdependence, communality, oral communication traditions, history and language that survive in South Sudan and Australia (Deng, 2016) despite 'colonial legacies of politicising race and ethnicity' (Zambakari, 2012, p. 515). Western academic conventions are based on notions of individual intellectual property ownership grounded in a certain historical, philosophical, political and economic context that are not necessarily shared or valued by people from other cultures (Pennycook, 1996; Dei, 2000). Alistair Pennycook (1996, p.1) asserts that it is a historically developed (related to modernity, imperialism and western humanism) and situated western requirement that there are identifiable, preferably individual, author/ owners of ideas, conversations and written words that need to be recognised and appropriately sourced. The imposition of English language teaching was at the core of colonialism and deeply embedded in the discourses of colonialism. A quote by Chris Searle illustrates the 'guilt of English':

Let us be clear that the English language has been a monumental force and institution of oppression and rabid exploitation throughout 400 years of imperialist history. It attacked the black person with its racist images and imperialist message, it battered the worker who toiled as its words expressed the parameters of his misery and the subjection of entire peoples in all the continents of the world. It was made to scorn the languages it sought to replace, and told the colonised peoples that mimicry of its primacy among languages was a necessary badge of their social mobility as well as their continued humiliation and subjection. Thus, when we talk of 'mastery' of the Standard language, we must be conscious of the terrible irony of the word, that the

English language itself was the language of the master, the carrier of his arrogance and brutality (Searle 1983, p.68 in Pennycook, 1998, p.6).

Similar to many others from collectivist, oral cultures, Denalh does not understand the need for the western academic conventions related to referencing, plagiarism and collusion. This resonates with the writings of George Sefa Dei (2000, p.124) who explains:

The idea of ownership of knowledge is not a central principle of Indigenous knowledge systems...in African systems of thought, knowledge is seen as cumulative and as emerging from experiencing the social world... There is the idea of mutual interdependence among all peoples such that the existence of the individual/subject is only meaningful in relation to the community that s/he is part of ...’.

The extra work that Denalh must undertake to be a student is not considered in assignment due dates or in provision of unit materials. The extra work includes having to translate unit materials from English into Arabic (Denalh’s second oral language and first written language), sometimes into Dinka (Denalh’s first language, oral only) for meaning, and back to Arabic (written) and then English, and considering many concepts and events outside her cultural and societal contexts and history. The unit guide is a text that has a standardised template across the predominately white institution, most often created by white people, and the lecturers (mainly white) who take the unit guide template up and then, often without conscious thought, fill out the unit guide template with due dates and assessment criteria that presumes a student who is: familiar with white-Euro Australian culture and core social contexts and history; English literate; and an individual, able to control their lives and time. In short, the unit guide standardises the ideological code of a white-Euro, middle-classed student without caring or community responsibilities.

In her second year of studying social work, Denalh describes how the whiteness of the university as an institution with embedded cultural assumptions and practices affects her.

Narrative 5: Denalh - 'Sitting scared'

It is the relationship with the teacher that can make the difference when I study. If the teacher takes the time to get to know and understand me, who I am, what I know from my own culture and background, I feel better... I feel like I have a chance among all the students who have English as their first language, who can easily walk into the classroom and sit most places next to someone like them, another white person, who will easily speak and be interested in them. Yes, if the teacher can help me bring my knowledge into the class, into the assessments, to see how what they are saying, how what I am reading, is related to my culture, where I came from, that makes all the difference. If there is a reading from an African author- I feel included, like I have the chance to know a bit more about the ideas being written about because I will know more about the place, people and events ... Just in the names of the authors of the readings- if there are some non-western names- I remember them better. I find it difficult to understand some of the power points that the teachers use- especially if there are tables. I am often not sure, when the teacher or lecturer asks questions, if they want me to respond. I do not like to have to hear, think and have to speak back to the teacher or to a group in the class in English. It takes me longer to process the English into my own languages and then to find the sort of formal English used at university to respond. ...I was often sitting scared that I would be asked to respond.... (D11, May, 2013).

Denalh describes what experiences of respect and belonging were needed to enable her to participate in a similar way to the white students who numerically and culturally dominated her social work university classroom. Denalh describes her perception that the white students could 'easily' walk in with presumption they would sit next to someone of their own racial group, speak in a common language, and find mutual interests. Denalh, on the other hand, had to worry before she walked into the classroom if the white person she usually had no choice but to sit next to, would want, or be able, to communicate easily with her, or even be interested in her. The worry and concern for Denalh in the daily navigation of this one task, entering a classroom where she was in a visibly different racial minority, is an example of the extra work involved in trying to activate the ideological code of the good

social work student that is predicated on a white, English as first language/culture, student. This is an example of what Diane Gusa (2010, p.467) has named 'white institutional presence' and defines as 'customary ideologies and practices rooted in the institution's design and the organization of its environment and activities'.

PEDAGOGY AND CURRICULUM

In the following narrative, Denalh describes her experiences of the pedagogy and curriculum being monolingual and primarily white-Euro-centric.

Narrative 6: Denalh - 'The theories for social work are usually white'

The good students in my course are nearly all Australian born, white, Anglo – it is their country. Nearly all the teachers are Anglo. Anglo teachers and Anglo students have much more chance to understand each other. Nearly all the books, articles are from English authors. When I think, who is writing this- I know it is a white writer. Who writes it puts it in their perspective – a white perspective. Sometimes I do not agree with that way. The theories for social work are usually white. Being racist is in white people's blood, they do not even know it is being racist; it is just in their blood. They will do things in a different way. Italian, Chinese, Vietnamese, all before us in Australia were subject to racism. Now it is our turn. Theories do not understand our cultures; they [theories] are from the white culture but do not even say they are from the white culture. Not every theory is for everyone, different theories, practice approaches are needed for different cultures. Theories need to fit different cultural systems, but we are made to fit the theories. In social work with South Sudanese people, we focus on the culture first, not the individual. The community is first, not me, it is we. White theory is more about who the individual person is now. People from South Sudan look at the whole community, everyone must fit together and things are fixed for all of us, not just for one person. With Anglo clients, I would just look at the person before me. The social work course was good in many ways; it enabled me to understand working in different ways. Similar to my work interpreting, I switch all the time, English, Nuer, Dinka, and Arabic. It is the same with social work – I will switch according to culture, and at times draw from

knowledge across cultures. Social work did make me respect my own culture in my own way, but at the same time in this country, I also have to understand more about Anglo laws, policies, culture and ways. The Anglo ways are the more powerful here in Australia (D12, August, 2014).

The pedagogy and curriculum experienced by Denalh as monolingual and primarily white-Euro-centric is problematic as curriculum content and teaching practice affects students' ability to relate to the material. Relatable curriculum content can increase students' learning experiences and improve their understanding of ideas and concepts (Hickling-Hudson, 2003; Hosken, 2010). An example of this was Denalh's description of how much more hopeful she was when realising the author of an article was African that she would be able to understand and relate to it. In addition, Denalh said she found it easier to remember the names of the non-western authors of the readings. Speaking from a South African, multi-lingual country perspective, Van der Walt stresses that:

as educators...we need to emphasise...repeatedly...that a focus in education on the use of one particular language...is a violation of social justice, effective learning and access to knowledge...When students are discouraged from using the languages at their disposal for learning, either actively or merely pretending that other languages do not exist, they are deprived of practices and tools that they can access and mobilise with relative ease (Van der Walt, 2013, p.6).

A NEOLIBERAL, SURFACE, DIVERSITY

RU's (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* states the university is committed to: offer an educational experience which will widen participation and support students from diverse backgrounds (p.6)...With a global perspective and a broader, more cohesive and inclusive curriculum...[and a] strong commitment to Indigenous education and to equity, improving access and support for students who would not otherwise enjoy the benefits that flow from higher education, so that they can achieve their full potential (p.7) [and]... deliver support services to enable success and enrich the learning, living and social experience for students [and] deliver services, resources and facilities to enable an engaged, inclusive, productive and satisfied University community (p.15).

There are numerous policy documents identified by RU as translating this aspirational commitment stated above from the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* into practice. One key policy, the RU (PRU40, p.1) *Equity and Diversity Policy*, states: 'The University is committed to providing equitable access to learning and employment opportunities as well as equitable learning and employment outcomes' and that 'the range of needs of members of the University are best met by the use of inclusive practices and the provision of reasonable adjustments where required'. Aligning with the Australian Federal Government's policies, reporting requirements and funding levers (DEET, 1990; Bradley, et al., 2008; Norton & Cakitaki, 2016), RU defines equity groups as 'identifiable groups of people within the community that, due to one or several personal characteristics, have been affected by systemic disadvantage with regard to access to educational or employment opportunities and have experienced less favourable outcomes in education or employment' (PRU40 p.3). As discussed in Chapter 1, people from refugee backgrounds are not one of the government identified 'equity' groups, nor of RU. Although there is some identification of 'non-English speaking background' being included in the RU (PRU8a) Special Entry Access Scheme (SEAS), and more so of peoples from 'low SES' backgrounds as identifiable 'equity groups' within RU policy, peoples from refugee backgrounds or 'low SES' backgrounds are not afforded the policy provisions of 'reasonable adjustment'. This practice is only formally offered to members of RU 'with a disability or health condition to enable them to fully participate in the University environment on the same basis as members of the University without a disability or health condition' (PRU8b).

RU (PRU1) states in their *Strategic Plan* and marketing material a commitment to being a diverse organisation. The AASW (2014b, p.1) claim 'a strong voice on matters of social inclusion, social justice, human rights and issues that impact upon the quality of life of all Australians' in their *Strategic Plan*. The analysis in this chapter reveals significant gaps between the rhetoric of equity, diversity, social inclusion and social justice in the texts of RU and the AASW, and the experiences of a key informant in how her work as a social work student was organised by these texts.

In this chapter, the presence of the embedded ideological code of the 'good social work student' being a white-Euro Australian, able-bodied, middle-classed, male was

revealed in the texts of RU and the AASW that organise the work of being a social work student. Those social work students who are white, middle-classed, able-bodied, and not socialised into caring (more often males) will be better positioned to activate the ideological code and, therefore, not have to do as much work to achieve the same, or similar, outcomes as those students who less able to activate the code, those who are non-white, working-class, and socialised into caring (more often females). Analysis of the texts identified in the narratives revealed organisational discourses of self-control, individualism, competition as shaped within ideological discourses of neoliberal economic, political and cultural values and practices.

The documentation in this chapter mounts the argument that the focus of the RU and the AASW on explicit curriculum, diversity management and quality assurance, form a surface level of engagement with equality, social justice, equity and inclusion. This builds on Sarah Ahmed's (2012, p.84) study, drawing from a phenomenological description of diversity practitioners in Australia and the United Kingdom, where 'hitting a brick wall' is the dominant metaphor of the book. In this work, Ahmed (2012) refers to the 'performance culture' of organisations, being more a public relations promotion, which values efficiency, utility, and image marketing over and above the actual institutionalisation of equality and antiracism.

Transformation is required by RU and the AASW to address the 'implicit curriculum' (Bogo and Wayne, 2013) and make deep, structural changes to reflect the knowledges, the epistemes, of all previously excluded, non-represented, or non-dominant groups. Until this structural change is achieved, the RU (PRU8b) *Reasonable Adjustment Policy* should be extended from the current focus on disability to include all non-dominant groups. The AASW should adopt and include this expanded *Reasonable Adjustment Policy* in its own *ASWEAS*, so that non-dominant group students are provided with appropriate flexibility given the additional work they must perform to achieve the same or similar outcomes in comparison to those more able to activate the ideological code of the 'good social work student'. At both course, RU and AASW levels, the introduction of standards that aimed at the implicit curriculum could potentially serve to address concerns identified in this chapter regarding the epistemic injustices of 'white socio-spatiality' and 'white institutional

presence' (Gusa, 2010). Adopting the implicit curriculum would commit the social work course, RU and the AASW to achieving staffing ratios, as mandated by the IFSW, that proportionally reflect the broader Australian demographic as outlined in the Australian government student equity targets. For refugee-background peoples, this is calculated at 3.59% (Sladek & King, 2016). In addition, I suggest that social work courses and the AASW be set targets that exceed the proportional demographic targets by at least 25% for both staff and students given the significantly higher representation of social work clients being non-white, poor, females (Sheedy, 2013).

I also agree with Ruth Sladek and Svetlana King (2016, p.68) who argue that refugee background peoples lack visibility in Australian Government equity related data and funding provisions, being subsumed into the category of 'Non-English Speaking Background' which lost government and university focus in the late 1990s. Refugee background peoples may also be one of many disparate groups within the large 'low socio-economic status (SES)' category but are not required or incentivised by federal government policy to be specifically supported during their studies. I endorse the call from Sladek and King (2016, p.68) that the Australian Government should include refugee background peoples as a specific equity category and require that universities collect and provide data relating to the participation of these students, to enable policy and funding consideration at a national level over time.

CONCLUSION

Regardless of where ideological codes first appear, they are said to come to operate as 'a free-floating form of control in the relations of public discourse', appearing in multiple forms in multiple texts and organizing talk, thinking, and writing (Smith, 1995, p.26). The narratives in this chapter revealed how invisible the 'implicit curriculum' is despite the policies of RU and the AASW regarding the discourses of 'equity and diversity', 'social justice', 'human rights', 'inclusion' and 'cultural competence'. The analysis of narratives describes how membership of groups subordinated due to racialised, gendered and classed relations is a source of oppression and discrimination, but also of knowledge, strength and motivation. The student informant's experience of racialised social relations was also compounded by class where she could not always afford the cost of internet connection or access to a computer, and gender where she could not speak directly to male teachers and had primary

responsibility to the care of children. The narratives also described the informant's commitment to others, primarily based on the South Sudanese ethnic communal ontology, including obligation, as then mediated or enacted through gender roles as part of the 'feminine habitus' (Bourdieu, 2001, p.68). For the student, the achievement of academic success as a minority cultural background student, the status and public worth, was linked to achieving recognition of the new country of South Sudan, and South Sudanese knowledge and culture, and the protection of social mobility for her, her family and her community. The whiteness of RU and the AASW required that the student had to work harder to achieve the same or similar results to white Euro Australian background students. However, the student could draw from multiple knowledges (Harris, Marlowe, & Nyuon, 2015) to navigate her own construction of what being a social worker might mean in both 'white Australia' and in the South Sudanese Australian and other non-white contexts. Ironically, the multilingual, multicultural and multiple knowledge positioning of the student informant appears to be more authentically representative of the institutional discourses of having an 'international', 'world' orientation that RU and many other western universities now claim and market themselves as having, and also of the 'culturally responsive and inclusive practice' required of social work students and social workers by the AASW (2013a, p.11) in their *Practice Standards*. Yet, efforts to activate the ideological codes of the 'good social work student' within the white, middle-classed, meritocratic and professional discourses, also serve to disenfranchise informant's experiences of symbolic, and at times material, violence of cultural misrecognition due to her racial, gender and class statuses.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE 'GOOD SOCIAL WORK LECTURER'

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents, and analyses, the work of being a white, female who completed her secondary education at TAFE, and taught in the TAFE sector for many years. The analysis of the role of the informant is primarily as a social work academic who, when this research commenced, had recently transitioned from teaching at TAFE to work at the university as a lecturer and then senior lecturer. The general academic ranking structure in Australia ranges across five levels from Associate Lecturer, Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor to Professor. The work of being a senior, white, male, working-class background professor is then outlined and examined in Chapter 6.

Exploration and analysis in Chapter 3 of a text used to evaluate teaching began to indicate the presence and components of the ideological code of the 'good social work academic'. These components included being 'high performers and achievers' that 'engage in continuous quality improvement' as evidenced in high scores on student evaluations of teaching, active contributions to passing audits and reaccreditations, and assisting RU to be seen as 'world class' and to achieve higher university rankings. I draw on narratives and textual analysis in this chapter to continue the exploration of the ideological code of the 'good social work academic' and its links to organisational, institutional and ideological discourses. I then unpack the role the texts and discourses play in making people eligible, or not, to participate in activating the ideological code of the 'good social work academic' after the exposition and analysis of one of the related texts the AASW (2012) ASWEAS identified in the narratives.

THE WORK OF A SOCIAL WORK LECTURER

In institutional ethnography, the purpose of collecting the data is to enable informants to describe how they understand how to do their work, looking for the textual process of the work, how they activated the text and understood the way the text was taken up at different stages and sites within the organisation. Excerpts from narratives of the social work lecturer informant, Audre, convey the disjuncture from which the social organisation of the work of social work academics is investigated.

Audre is a white-Euro Australian woman who grew up in the 1960s and 1970s, without wealth, in a context of interrupted state and TAFE secondary schooling, and when formal discrimination was still evident against women, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-white peoples. The late 1970s marks the collapse of full-time youth employment and the rise of neoliberalism in social and economic policy in Australia. In the narrative excerpt below (Narrative 7), Audre reflects on how what she learned about becoming a white girl/woman from modest means in this era is something she carried with her into teaching and becoming an academic.

Narrative 7: Audre - 'Learning my lower status'

As soon as I was old enough, I needed to be in paid work, to be financially independent. I did not want to be like the older generations of white women I saw in my neighbourhoods that were financially beholden to men. My socialisation included learning my lower status as a girl/woman compared to straight, white boys/men. I observed that men's power to make decisions in most areas of the domestic sphere came from their connection to paid-work, and their higher pay packet as compared to most women. Watching television, white, heterosexual men occupied the majority of important roles in news coverage and dramas. My sense of being of lower value and status compared to white boys and men was reinforced by experiences of being sexually harassed as a young teenager by young and older men in public places like bus depots. However, even when young, I knew that not all boys and men were valued equally. A young homosexual boy died, reportedly suicide, at my high school. I thought he was driven to death by taunting and bullying. In my twenties, a homosexual male friend was beaten to death outside a nightclub by white men. My own experiences of sexual harassment in sport, and in the street, were followed by repeated sexual harassment by older white/Euro men when working as a young woman in casual work in fast-food outlets, bars, restaurants and then as a junior in offices. It was also heightened by my work in women's refuges

and community legal centres. I bring these experiences and this knowledge with me into teaching (A8, May, 2011).

The informant describes gendered, classed experiences in the above narrative. Harassment and violence are gendered phenomena as they overwhelmingly occur between a male harasser and a female target (Purdy & Levy, 2010; Vera-Gray, 2016). The informant's account also reveals male harassment and violence towards homosexual boys and men in the 1970s and 1980s. Contemporary Australian research indicates that gay men and transsexual people remain targets (Tomsen, 2013), however men remain, overwhelmingly, those who harass and abuse others in public, work and private spaces. Stephen Tomsen suggest (2013, p.81), critical researchers:

share the view that masculinities are plural, socially constructed, reproduced in the collective social practices of different men and embedded in institutional and occupational settings. Furthermore, masculinities are intricately linked with struggles for social power that occur between men and women and among different men.

The classed nature of the experiences is indicated when considering that, unlike the informant, girls and young women from more wealthy backgrounds rarely needed to catch public transport where the informant was subject to street harassment, or to work in the precarious, casual employment in hospitality where the informant was subject to sexual harassment. Subjection to 'street harassment' is reported to be one of the most understudied yet commonly experienced forms of violence against girls and women (Vera-Gray, 2016). One Australian study (LaMontagne et al., 2009) found that employees in precarious employment (like the casual work and junior clerk work described by the informant) where 'work arrangements [are] characterized by instability, lack of protections, insecurity and social and economic vulnerability' were more likely to be subjected to unwanted sexual advances at work. Street harassment and sexual harassment at work are identified as part of 'a continuum of violence against and oppression of femininities' (Logan, 2015, p.197) that combine with other social and ruling relations to socialise men to dominate women and those who [are presumed to] engage in gender and sexual non-conformity. This perpetuates the subordination and marginalisation of femininities and

‘marginalised masculinities’ (Connell, 1995). This way of experiencing class as always shaped by gender and race, is consistent with Acker’s (2006a) approach. As introduced in Chapter 2, Acker’s (2006a, p.170) gendered theory of class recognises ‘the practices and relations that provide differential control over and access to the means of provisioning’ and survival.

After graduating from social work in the 1980s, Audre worked in several workplaces including women’s refuges, community legal centres and TAFEs. The next excerpt, Narrative 8, describes her experiences of starting work at the university.

Narrative 8: Audre - ‘A bit like housework’

I am excited, at 48 I want to learn new things, get a chance to start my PhD, and engage in debate about ideas, social work, education and social justice. My six years of teaching and coordinating the welfare course at TAFE exhausted me, especially the ongoing fight to get essential staff and student resources. I got my start as an academic without a PhD due to the staffing crisis shortage in the social work team, filling their need for someone to do the more practical work of coordinating field education and teach community development. Field education is not, though, something anyone else wants to do, or hear about; it’s a bit like housework. I had not realised how much control the AASW exercised over field education. I have to make sure RU social work’s field education policies and practices comply with the ASWEAS to pass accreditations. This is ironic, given I have consciously chosen to not join the AASW; often disagreeing with their leadership, focus on professionalism, orientation towards the more male-defined psychologies, and irrelevance to the women’s and community legal sectors I worked in. As a junior academic, I have to advocate with senior managers to get resources just to get the basics covered in field education. Although I asked for this, there is so much work to do. I do not complain as I have no idea yet how things work, if everyone else is in the same boat as me. Oh, but it feels so busy in an isolating way. It is not like TAFE where teachers, co-workers, share work burdens, work allocations and work pressures as a team. Although teachers at university refer to each other as colleagues, here each unit chair mainly sinks or swims on their own, and has to manage casual staff marking in

their units. A more senior male academic tells me I have to do my time, complete my PhD, get out of field education at the first opportunity, and network with those who already have research grants. He tells me that it is research that counts, that is what the university actually values (A1.1, June, 2010).

The informant's gendered, class experience tells her unless the position she gained at the university was in field education, considered a lower status area of work, she would not have been qualified, or worthy, to secure a job at the university. Field placement is defined as a 'signature pedagogy' in recognition of a stated intrinsic contribution to social work education and to the process of becoming a 'professional' social worker (Cleak & Smith, 2012; La Vonne, 2012). The rhetoric of being a signature pedagogy is in contrast, however, to the assessment by the informant of the status of coordination of the field education program in social work as being 'a bit like housework'.

The informant's introduction to being a 'colleague' is not reflected in her experience where each unit chair is more like a small business manager, responsible for oneself and the production of the unit, including managing casual staff. In the next narrative, (Narrative 9), the informant describes the importance, for her, of having an office of her own and her sense of doubt about her abilities.

Narrative 9: Audre - 'I cannot quite believe I have my own office'

I cannot quite believe I have my own office, my own space here at the university, unlike at TAFE, and most other places I have worked. I hope that I will get help with learning to research and write about social justice issues. The opportunity, and requirement, to research and publish is in my position description. Although I have years of experience in the field, I cannot find where that is valued here. I am intimidated by being on the bottom of the hierarchy, everyone else on my floor a Dr with PhDs...I am reluctant to reveal how little I know about how academia works, am just trying to learn fast. I can't recall experiencing the 'not quite fitting in' sensations of doubt, of being no-one, in my six years at TAFE which was more working-class, more embedded in its community. Having gone to a TAFE for my own second-chance to finish secondary education, I understood and fitted there easily. I feel an

obligation to give back after receiving a free university education and hope that I might provide a familiar and welcoming face for TAFE welfare graduates who go on to university... I hate the pomposity of academic hierarchy that struts intellect, as if it is solely individually earned. I do not believe we have got where we are just by our own hard work and self-created intellect. I worked with too many people in women's refuges and community legal centres, witnessing the material consequences of the lack of class advantages that wealth brings. Yet, I want the academic credentials so that men and people from private school backgrounds cannot so easily dismiss me (A1.2, August, 2010).

In the first months working at the university, the informant describes being confronted by her own status at the bottom of the academic hierarchy. The informant must work emotionally and practically to manage her gendered, classed doubt about her intellectual worth to evidence her intellectual parity with others. There are similarities between the lecturer informant's narrative of self-doubt and that expressed in the student informant narratives in the previous chapter. The lecturer informant describes transitioning from teaching at the more working-class oriented, and team style of teaching at TAFE (Hosken, Goldingay, et al., 2013) to the individualised lecturing and unit chairing role at university. The informant's experiences reflect the hierarchical, class-based relationship between TAFE and university sectors (Wheelahan, 2010). As a secondary school student, and teacher, from the lower status training institution of TAFE, the lecturer informant is 'excited' and attracted to academia.

Feelings of validation of the change in the informants' intellectual status are prompted by her job description, which includes responsibilities to research, write and publish, and also by being provided with her own office to do this work in. There are important critiques of Virginia Woolf's (1929) seminal essays for their class and race biases (for example, Walker, 2000) focusing on her own context of white, middle-classed women. However, Woolf's (1929) recognition of the significance for women of having a room of one's own resonates with the informant's narrative. Woolf (1929, Ch.1) famously noted, 'a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write'. Although Woolf wrote this in 1929, her message retains importance. Different groups of Australian women have

historically been subject to discrimination, [being treated worse than [white] men] ‘on the basis of gender, sexuality, marital status, family responsibilities or because they are pregnant’ (AHRC, 2016b). Although there have been gains for different groups of Australian women at different times, many of the gains are relatively recent. This means that the gender socialisation of the informant (born in the 1960s) was shaped within a period of high formal and informal gender discrimination. The chronology of changes to the discriminatory laws include gaining formal rights to: own property (1884 for non-Aboriginal women); vote in federal elections (1902 for non-Aboriginal women and 1962 for all Aboriginal women and men); work in the public service after marriage (1966); secure a bank loan without a male guarantor (1971); have rape in marriage declared illegal (1976); and in 1981 to prosecute husbands for violence (Australian Women Against Violence Alliance, 2016).

There remains, however, an enduring substantive reality of the lower political, economic and social status of women, as compared to white-Euro settler background men, in Australia. There is evidence of the low status of women, generally, in Australia, and more so of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women, minority cultural background women (AHRC, 2012), women with disabilities (WWDA, 2017), older women, and lesbian, trans and intersex women (AHRC, 2015). The lower status of women is symbolised and evidenced by the: prevalence of the significant gender pay gap of 17.3% (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2016); fact that women still provide the majority of care for children (Craig & Mullan, 2011); tolerance in Australia of the systemic abuse of its female population where over a third of women who had a current or former intimate partner reported experiencing physical and/or sexual violence since the age of sixteen (Mouzos & Makkai, 2004); high rates of sexual harassment of women in the workplace where 22 percent of Australian women report having experienced this (AHRC, 2008); and women’s over-representation in poverty (AHRC, 2009a; ACOSS & SPRC, 2016).

Woolf (1929, Ch.1) emphasised that women need financial freedom and the ‘personal liberty to create [their] her own space’. The informant’s stated need for financial independence from men can be located in her historical time, raised in the decades by her mother’s generation of women whose marriages, often among many other positive experiences, involved the wife giving up certain legal and social powers to the husband in

return for being under his 'protection'. This context included the husband being economically, politically, legally and socially dominant and the wife subordinate. In this time, men were lawfully able to rape, be abusive of and/or controlling of their wives. Married women could not, in these generations, secure a bank loan without a male guarantor nor could women work in the public service after marriage or receive a benefit from the commonwealth government unless their husband was dead, or had deserted them (Australian Women Against Violence Alliance, 2016).

The informant's descriptions in the narrative above of feelings of excitement and anticipation of being able to write, debate and learn to think and research, confirms this was not as possible in the more working-class TAFE. This is also indicative of the informant's generation of white, Euro settler-background women from state schools and non-elite educational routes, without family wealth. The very desire for higher qualifications and recognition of their intellectual parity with white men, and parity with those who have private school education and wealth, belies doubt about their intellectual and social worth. The informant describes feelings of 'desire and repulsion' like that found by Sarah Evans (2010, p.57) in her study of female students in London who were studying and 'becoming somebody' (Evans, 2010, p.65). Although devaluing and distrusting academic credentials, not believing in the meritocratic discourse that underpins them, the informant describes wanting the academic credential of the middle-class institution of the university. There is hope that this conferred legitimacy will enable the informant to both feel she has become 'somebody' (Evans, 2010) that deserves to belong, and also to protect her, and assist the informant to protect non-dominant others. The informant expresses the need for protection from ongoing risks of being subject to the misrecognition of being invalidated, ignored or dismissed within the gendered, racialised and classed relations of RU and the AASW, as shaped within their broader social contexts.

Like sections of the student informant narratives described in chapter 4, the lecturer informant data reveals feelings of doubt and fear that engender action to protect against misrecognition, 'the withdrawal of social recognition, in the phenomena of humiliation and disrespect' (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p.134). The informant's narratives illustrate her experience of these social relations placing high value on knowledge and achievement

predicated on white, masculine, ruling versions of knowledge gained through formal education predicated on a removed rationality (Arbon, 2008b; Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009). This sort of knowledge is valued more than the informant's knowledge and experience as a white woman without wealth, including her decades of relational work as a social worker in the field. Gendered, classed doubt is reinforced by the lack of recognition from others of the informant's years of social work practice in the field as knowledge. The informant's efforts to stop being 'no-one' resonates with those moments described by Rich (1986, p.199), of 'psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing', as discussed in Chapter 1.

Similar to the motivations and felt obligations of many women who are socialised into the choice to enter the helping professions (Huppatz, 2010), and those academics who have come from non-elite educational routes, the informant wants to give back and effect changes so that others are made to feel more at home in the university (Tokarczyk & Fay, 1993; Hosken, Goldingay, et al., 2013). This can be interpreted as part a 'feminine habitus' involving the prioritisation of relationships and the emotional and care-work which 'falls more particularly to women' (Bourdieu, 2001, p.68), that is also classed (Hosken, 2016) where the informant feels responsibility to give back to similar others from TAFE and other interrupted education backgrounds.

The following sections present findings relating to sub-themes concerning the how the discourses of whiteness, excellence, meritocracy, masculinity, femininity and caring are organisers of who does the invisible work and the lower status work in the university, and who does excellence.

DISCOURSES OF WHITENESS, EXCELLENCE, MERITOCRACY, MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

In the next narrative, (Narrative 10), the lecturer informant describes how she experiences being a female, low status junior academic without a PhD, with caring responsibilities and caring work, restricts the capacity to be a 'good social work academic' who can contribute to the goals of excellence set out in the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* and the AASW (2012) ASWEAS.

Narrative 10: Audre - 'To do it all, I work some part of every weekend, and most evenings'

My workload for 2011 includes being unit chair for five units, teaching those units and being the academic field education coordinator for the Bachelor and Master of social work programs. I am also supposed to research and publish journal articles. To do it all, I work some part of every weekend, and most evenings. Other level B academics tell me they also work long hours, as it is the only way possible to manage the workload and appear capable to get good performance review appraisals, pass probation and secure promotion. The female lecturers with younger children and other caring responsibilities find it the hardest. I do not have the South Sudanese cultural responsibilities of Denalh, and cannot imagine if she went on to become an academic how she would be able to manage them within western dominated organisations like RU. The recent inclusion of the provision of ceremonial leave is restricted to Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander peoples. Compassionate leave and carer's leave is restricted to a member of a staff member's immediate family or household. This would not consider the broader responsibilities to family and community that Denalh, and many other peoples from communal cultures, have. Most of the male academics with children, that I have talked to, have partners that do the majority of the daily care of children and, for some, of their parents. One male academic tells me how he is concentrating all his time to finish his PhD whilst also working. When I ask, he says this is possible because his wife does most of the care and domestic work for their children and the home. The responsibility to publish is individual and it feels like we are put in competition with each other to secure limited workload resources, grants or prizes... (A2.4, November, 2011).

The differences that gender, class and race produce in people's ability to perform the good academic become even clearer to the informant in her third year of working in the university. The informant's response to exploit herself, to work in her own time to prove her productivity and worth, is also characteristic of those who feel they are imposters where they aim to reduce their stress and anxiety about failure and incapability by 'working longer, harder and seeking perfection' (Parkman, 2016, p.52).

The informant in Narrative 10, recognises the white-Euro centric nature of the leave provisions of RU, predicated on the nuclear model of family of the 'Anglo-Celtic' system (Morphy, 2006, p.23) when she imagines what it would be like for a person like Denalh, from an indigenous, communal culture, to work at RU. The gendered burden of caring (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Ferrant, Pesando, & Nowacka, 2014; Wilkins, 2016) and of housework (Wilkins, 2016) reduces the informant's, and many other female academics, ability to compete within the academy. Those who are white and 'care-less' (Grummell, et al., 2009, p.192) will be more able to activate the ideological code of the 'good social work academic'. The ability to network with successful academic researchers and to gain research grants is not possible for the informant who has little control over the immediacy of field education and teaching, and who is not [yet] able to not care for staff and students.

In the next excerpt (Narrative 11) the informant describes her perceptions of the different impacts of the disciplining discourses of femininity and masculinity.

Narrative 11: Audre - 'Alert to hearing and feeling distress signals from others'

An academic told me he only put in the actual hours allocated for teaching and service, not any more, or he would not get time to research, which is the reason he became an academic. He had graduated from one of the elite universities and his goal was to get recognised through research and publications, and to secure a job back at a higher status university... I thought I could be different, but I do not think I can sustain the energy for this sort of teaching and learning relationship with the students...I notice it is the female staff who seem to organise to celebrate birthdays and other occasions, and try to look after each other, and the students, a bit. One of the short-term contract staff is so overloaded with work, I can feel the distress, and it is ridiculous. Being socialised as a female, and having worked in hospitality and offices as a young woman where I was often sexually harassed, has left me always on guard and alert to my own physical and mental safety from those with more power, and also alert to hearing and feeling distress signals from others. The male academics and male and female managers do not seem to see the distress at all, or as much. I provide some support, but am so busy myself (A3.4, September, 2012).

The differences between the experiences of the informant, and her understandings of discussions with male academics in Narrative 11, reflect broader differences in gendered, classed and racialised socialised contexts, subjectivities and obligations. These subjectivities and contexts combine to produce differences in feelings, expectations and senses of entitlement or gratitude that can impact people's work obligations and experiences. The informant was socialised into the lower status that is being a female without independent income or wealth in Australia. The socialisation and experience of being in a lower status group, and in lower status work contexts, produces a sense of recognition, belonging with, and accountability to, those that are also relegated lower status. This belonging involves loyalty and obligations that, almost, compel the informant to work beyond allocated hours to assist those perceived as similar to her, those who do not find themselves reflected in the higher status jobs and activities that contribute to the 'excellence' sought by RU and the AASW.

The gendered socialisation into 'choosing' a helping role combines with this loyalty to second-chance others, to require the informant to 'pay back' her debt to them for leaving TAFE, and to pay back her debt to society where the informant is 'grateful' for the opportunities she has been provided. Gratitude also functions to perpetuate the informant's doubt about her actual worthiness, or desire, to be an academic. Worth and desire in this gendered, classed subjectivity must be practically demonstrated and re-earned by helping others. The informant's gendered socialisation reflects deeply embedded values and feelings that it is not appropriate to want, achieve or demonstrate success for, just, herself (Worell & Remer, 2002). At her age, the informant is in the generations of Australians who received free university education (between 1974 and 1989) under the initiative of the Whitlam government. Like others without wealth who felt they would not have gone to university unless it was free, this also invites the informant's response to be grateful and give back (Twomey & Boyd, 2016). The male academic mentioned in Narrative 11, who graduated from an elite university is not described as constrained or doubtful in his choices to only spend the hours allocated in teaching, not appearing to have any felt obligations or gratitude to anyone else, or another group for being where he is. The male academic indicated feeling entitled to his position, considering he got there on his own, individual, merit. The informant must work harder than the male academic to suppress or manage her

feelings of guilt, frustration and failure at her inability to maintain efforts to provide what she perceives as quality teaching that includes a responsive and relationship-based pedagogy. Like some of the other female staff, the informant palpably 'feels' the distress of the overworked short-term contract academic, and her gendered socialisation and classed second-chance loyalty requires her to work to help. Many women, at least of the informant's white cultural and social background, and generational times, have been strongly socialised, often disciplined, into involuntary visceral emotional and physical anticipatory awareness of the needs of others, particularly of the needs of men (Worell & Remer, 2002).

Narratives and texts analysed in this section reveal the 'good social work academic' is one that can activate the desired qualities identified in the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* of being an entrepreneurial, mobile, flexible, innovative, researcher. These qualities are predicated on 'mobile transnational [white, middle-classed] masculinities (Connell, 2000) [that] imposes expectations that only a 'care-less worker can fully satisfy' (Grummell, et al., 2009, p.192).

The stated values of being a good academic of being entrepreneurial, mobile, flexible and innovative are shown to be overshadowed in the next section by the standardising impacts of regulation, audit and surveillance.

FEAR, STANDARDISATION, PRODUCTIVITY AND COMPETITION

Neoliberal theory, and associated practices, are said to foster relationships of inequality through invoking in people the fear of becoming one of the many 'losers' needed to create the fewer 'winners' (Hosken, 2016). When people experience relationships to employment that are precarious (Standing, 2011) and there is institutionalised insecurity (Neilson, 2015a), the capitalist fear becomes a binding influence with some shared features across workers at low, middle and high wage levels (Hosken, 2016). This neoliberal fear is illustrated in the following excerpt (Narrative 12) where the lecturer is still in the probation period of her employment:

Narrative 12: Audre - 'The neoliberal fear'

The informal talk and advice among the junior academic staff is needing to pull your weight, without complaint, at least until you get out of the three-year probation period. I do feel vulnerable in probation, especially after seeing a staff member's position terminated after final review as they had not achieved their probation goals. The strong hierarchy at the university makes me feel inferior in my place at the bottom, fearful of performance appraisals, and the power of line managers connected to those more senior managers we do not even see very often but who survey us through student feedback statistics and research output metrics. I was told that 'You have to prove your worth in order to be able to negotiate more decent workloads' and that 'A good academic is one that does not create problems for their managers to have to deal with'. Someone else mentioned that although teaching is not as important as research, management will use poor ratings on teaching to get rid of academics they do not like. School and faculty planning days do not involve any planning. They seem to me to be a performance to reinforce competition, hierarchy and the culture that academics are only as good as their last success in securing a grant, publishing in a high rating journal or in winning an award that brings recognition to their managers and to the brand of the university. I want to do research and write something worthwhile about social justice but as there is no time in my workload to do this, I do work for teaching and for research on the weekends (A2.4, November, 2011).

In this narrative, the informant describes her experiences of vulnerability, inferiority and fear, associated with being a junior academic without tenure, or a strong track record of publications or grants. The informant is aware of the individual metrics, exposed to the intense culture of audit, and public, performative competition, where she is subject to the surveillance of performance appraisals and student feedback and learns to achieve through managing herself by self-exploiting in working weekends.

In the next excerpt (Narrative 13), the informant provides description of being managed under the surveillance of audit and regulatory policies, where the results of the

informant's individual performance from the student RU (PRU5a) *Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure*, research metrics and RU (PRU27) *Performance Planning and Review Procedure* are provided to those more senior in the hierarchy as per the RU (PRU1a) *Quality Management Policy*. The informant also refers to the negative impact of the AASW (2012) ASWEAS policy on those students not able to activate the ideological code of the 'good social work student'.

Narrative 13: Audre - 'Audits, re-accreditations, marketing and rebranding'

We are constantly informed by email to read the changes to policies and electronic manuals that outline our responsibilities as staff members, lecturers and unit chairs. Ironically, the more the university markets itself as providing a personalised education experience for students, the less opportunity there is to provide this. As a lecturer with less time and resources to teach it is difficult to not be sad and cynical about the endless marketing and rebranding hype of 'world class, innovative, personalised, and cutting edge'. Relentless standardisation and alignment of unit, course, university and professional accreditation learning outcomes and assessment procedures create evidence for the university to pass the audit and accreditation cycles. The often-frenetic work involved in these auditing and accreditation processes is not adequately reflected in the workload of academics and thus takes away from time to teach and research. The AASW re-accreditations do not audit or require AASW, social work course, university policy alignment about the broader social policy contexts that shape the social justice of social work education. There are some useful elements in specified staffing levels and the required curriculum content, but these cannot easily be realised in pedagogy. The re-accreditation process ends up being a technical compliance exercise to demonstrate compliance with the AASW's definition of good social work and their strategic plan. Preparing audit evidence of compliance with some of the AASW ASWEAS regulations that I consider to be unjust is demoralising. The AASW seem more concerned with marketing themselves and the profession of social work than with the social justice, the inclusivity, of education. The requirement in ASWEAS that students have to attend a minimum of 20 days face-to-face teaching will preclude many of those in

our traditional cohort who are in remote areas, or those who are local but have to work and or care for dependants. I raised this issue in person at the ASWEAS review consultation in Melbourne but was told by the senior AASW representative that if people cannot afford to undertake the course, then they probably should not study. I wish the AASW would at least be educational with its members and those that it regulates that they are choosing from several possible ways to respond in these neoliberal times. The outward presentation by the AASW in this review does not contribute to social justice in social work education. In the six years, I have been at the university I have witnessed how the increase in the audit focused, risk averse, culture and practices of education have eroded opportunities for thoughtful, creative, authentic and responsive curriculum development and teaching and assessment. Everything is so fast, time and space ever more condensed as the university aims to reduce costs and extract profit. There is now the push to open plan office accommodation where academics are housed in hutches with hot desks allocated for sessional and part-time staff. The limited consultation, or acting on feedback from teaching staff about these changes, and hierarchically influenced negotiations for quotas of limited spaces or facilities for conducting teaching and research is an example of an increased lack of democracy within the university. It is hard to believe in the mantra that open plan is more productive when senior managers who do not teach, retain individual offices. Many of the learning relationships I have enjoyed with diverse students has been enabled by them having easy access to me outside of lectures and to the privacy that is accorded to our discussions within my office. If there is any perceived increased productivity, I think it is because academics in open plan are forced to work more from home, and are not able to charge the university for their home facilities. Just as more of the cost of education is shifted to the student, more of the production costs of higher education are shifted to employees. I think quality teaching should mainly happen at the university, needs to be slower and be supported with student accessible individual office spaces within which academics can think, communicate, meet, teach, research and write (A6.3, October, 2015).

In this narrative, the informant describes experiences of being regulated, audited and surveilled. This regime involves the belief that competition-based market mechanisms are the most efficient and effective allocator of goods, services and rewards (including tenure, promotion and education) for people, who are considered to be self-interested, rational and profit-seeking individuals (Hutchinson & Mellor, 2004a). The informant refers to being demoralised by some of the work needed to be done to prepare for AASW re-accreditations where some of the AASW (2012) ASWEAS regulations conflict with her own values regarding the social justice of social work. The informant's sense of being disheartened is related to the degree of complicity, subjugation and subordination required in the re-accreditation process. This has been recognised by other scholars such as Shore and Wright (1999, as cited by Ball, 2003, p.11) who state 'to be audited, an organization [or individual] must actively transform itself [or herself/ himself] into an auditable commodity'.

The narrative also draws attention how compliance is ensured through the imposition of penalties and rewards used in neoliberal managerialism, as described by Sanford Schram and Basha Silverman (2011). The penalties include invoking the capitalist fear of consequences such as disciplinary action, redundancy and unemployment. The rewards include methods of capitalist enticement and entrapment such as passing probation, promotion and better workloads into the neoliberal dream of becoming a successful and good academic. The combination of fear and enticement can create a dominating cultural hold over people (Gramsci, 1971), like the informant perhaps especially academics, who are subject to such high levels of the 'performance culture' (Ahmed, 2012, p.84).

Exploration of the presence and impacts of neoliberal managerialism continue in the next section that examines how the AASW are actively engaged with neoliberal discourse in development of graduate attributes.

THE DISCOURSE OF GRADUATE ATTRIBUTES AND OUTCOMES

The transition from the welfare state to the workfare state (McDonald, 2006a) involving the de-regulation of the Australian higher education sector and the introduction of the demand-driven system, and the increasing privatisation of welfare, was outlined in Chapters 1 and 2.

The informant's description in Narrative 13 of the aggressive marketing campaign of the university and the concentration on marketing the profession by the AASW reflects the impacts of deregulation and privatisation in producing 'increasingly competitive and volatile' education (Favaloro, 2015, p.490) and welfare sectors.

Marketing expenditure by Australian universities has increased by 23% in the five years to 2013, with some universities spending over AU\$10 million per annum on advertising and promotions' (Favaloro, 2015, p.490). The AASW markets itself to social workers, aiming to increase membership, given their reliance on member fees as the main source of revenue (AASW, 2015a). The AASW also markets itself to organisations they are seeking to influence by establishing and presenting a 'highly credible voice' (AASW, 2015a, p.1). Part of this credibility is achieved through alignment with the neoliberal discourse and policy directions from the OECD, and Australian Federal Government, that frame the current purpose of education as the 'production of human capital for the global market' (Rinne, Kallo, & Hokka, 2004, p.456) where education aligns more closely with industry, specifies graduate attributes and demonstrates high graduate employability. The active engagement of the AASW with this neoliberal discourse is illustrated by their development of graduate attributes within the AASW (2012, pp.10-13) *ASWEAS*. This engagement is also evident in the framing of the purpose of the AASW (2015a, p.3) *2016 Review of ASWEAS* as to 'ensure these standards [AASW educational standards] reflect best practice and adequately prepare graduates for entry to the workforce'.

Graduate attributes are criticised for emphasising a reductionist role of education focusing on employability rather than on education for its own sake, or for social justice, human flourishing, social good, and citizenship (Bozalek, 2013). The focus on graduate attributes responds to the expectations of employers in their development, and emphasis is placed on graduates being 'more compliant and attractive to the corporate world' (Bozalek, 2013, p.71). This is of special concern for social workers where ethical requirements to redress injustice may not be consistent with corporate compliance. The AASW, however, draws on a constructed neo-liberal credibility to increase membership, develop and market a 'national trademark' and align with health-related organisations, such as the Board of the National Alliance for Self-Regulating Health Professions, aiming to increase professional

status and achieve registration. The pro-active approach of the AASW in developing graduate attributes for social work students, and then regulating the compliance of social work courses with the teaching of these, is not matched by consideration of what resources are required for diverse students and courses to achieve them. This collusion with the market that focuses on curriculum alignment, rather than on student needs, is based on the inbuilt assumptions of graduate attributes, and those that promote them, of the student being middle-classed and 'adequately prepared and enculturated into higher education expectations, with good economic opportunities' (Bozalek, 2013, p.72). This is not representative of the current diversity of student cohorts, especially of social work courses at regional and non-elite universities (for example, Hosken, Goldingay, et al., 2013; Testa & Egan, 2013; Koshy, 2014).

Within Narrative 13 above, are references to the texts that organise the work of the informant, including the RU (PRU1a) *Quality Management Policy*, the RU (PRU15a) *Probation (Academic Staff) Procedure*; the RU (PRU27) *Performance Planning and Review Procedure*; the AASW (2012) *ASWEAS*, and the AASW (2014b) *Strategic Plan 2014-17*. The informant refers to the negative impact of the AASW (2012) *ASWEAS* requirement that students must attend a minimum of 20 days face-to-face teaching, disproportionality precluding students in remote areas, or those who are local, but must work and/or care for dependants.

The AASW (2012) sets and regulates educational standards through the accreditation and reaccreditation of the Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) and Master of Social Work (MSW) programs in Australian universities. The AASW (2012, pp.18-19) *ASWEAS* outlines requirements related to the mode of delivery of the program and specific requirements 'for a minimum of twenty days' face to face learning and teaching. Face-to-face is defined as compulsory classroom teaching where students are present in person. A day is defined as being seven hours in duration; thus, students are to attend seven hours a day for 20 days, totalling 140 hours. The program must be able to demonstrate to the accrediting body and the field that all students have participated in the face-to-face teaching and learning through, for example, keeping record of student participation'. In Narrative 13, the informant refers to raising this issue at the AASW provided forum regarding the review of

the ASWEAS. The reported response from an AASW representative that 'if people cannot afford to undertake the course, then they probably should not study' indicates a prioritisation of the quest for professionalism and registration over the commitment to social justice. I agree with the position of the IFSW that social justice for social work needs to actively include commitment to the profile of students and staff of social work courses reflecting the equity targets of the Federal Government, and/or the proportional demographics of local university populations, and/or the profile of social work client demographics, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. The AASW requirement for face-to-face attendance by students is not substantiated by evidence as to the pedagogical superiority of face-to-face over other forms of teaching and learning. There is evidence to suggest a blended approach with a range of pedagogies including online education can be very effective in many areas of the curriculum (Goldingay & Land, 2014; Forgey & Ortega-Williams, 2016).

The following section reports on how the lecturer informant, despite disagreeing with the metrics that quantify a good social work lecturer, finds herself becoming one.

BECOMING 'THE GOOD SOCIAL WORK LECTURER'

In the next narrative excerpt, the informant describes her inculcation into university, policy, management and research peopled settings and relationships. The informant describes how she only notices how ingrained this socialisation has become after a comment from an informant.

Narrative 14: Audre - 'I am becoming more unrecognisable to myself'

After we discussed some work I emailed a colleague. He commented that I seem to be becoming what I critique - the 'career' academic. As soon as he said it, I could not help but see me working on the articles, conferences, research projects. I really have internalised meeting the requirements of probation and promotion, of proving myself, and of being seen to be competent. I notice I am feeling more lost this year. There is always an undercurrent of feeling angry and resentful at the demands of the

corporate business culture. But I am angrier with my own complicities in this culture. I justify it as needing to have a certain amount of research, publications to be able to stay an academic and use my skill and knowledge to teach and research in ways that serve social justice. How much of it, though, is just meeting my own ego and needs? As the university seems less unfamiliar, I am becoming more unrecognisable to myself (A4.1, August, 2013).

The term 'institutional capture' (Smith, 2005 p.108), was introduced in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3). An excerpt from the lecturer informant (Narrative 1) in Chapter 3, described an experience of her institutional capture where, despite her low opinion of the value of the *RU Student Survey*, she replies to a query from a manager regarding a poor rating within the parameters set by RU policies and procedures. In Narrative 14, above, is another example and layer of the informant's 'institutional capture' where even when she has tried to resist the institutional discourses of the 'good social work lecturer' she is both made to, and to some degree wants to, adopt elements of this standardising discourse. The informant's feelings of complicity are evident even when she considers adoption of the metrics as providing a degree of protection for how she wants to work as a lecturer, and for her resistance.

In the following narrative (Narrative 15), Audre describes how in her fourth year of work at the university, she again draws on the metrics of what the university values to apply for, and secure promotion from a lecturer to a senior lecturer position. In this process, the informant learns more about the nature of the hierarchy in the university, and her implications in it.

Narrative 15: Audre - 'I will not be valuable to them'

I was unsure about applying for promotion, what my reasons were. Formally, I say that it is because I think the work involved in coordinating field education is just as important as the work involved in coordinating a course, and that I meet the criteria as required in the policy. I was scared that if I did not apply now, my window of acceptability to the university may disappear. Right now, you can apply with sustained contribution at the level of promotion sought in two of the three academic

fields (learning and teaching, research and scholarship, leadership and service) and a sustained contribution at the current level of the applicant in the third. I am not sure if, and when, they will change this. I may not get the chance again to make the case against only two of the three fields. I am also worried if I ever move away from managing field education, I will not be valuable to them, and therefore be less protected. Being a senior lecturer who has been acknowledged by reports to support my promotion from senior academics and managers may be protective during the periods when I advocate for changes. I went to a union meeting and learned that senior administrators and senior academics (from heads of school up) can be rewarded with bonuses of different kinds if they achieve key performance indicators related to the university strategic plan. No wonder they are often focused more on efficiency, competition and growth, and on containing set budgets at school, faculty and university levels, than on teaching and education. I prepare my detailed documentation to provide evidence of how I meet the criteria and show how I contribute to the corporate strategy of the university. I am ashamed to admit, part of the reason for wanting promotion was also to keep my own office. In all my years of work, this is one of the few jobs where I have had my own office, and I just love it. My office has a window to the outside. Only senior lecturers and above are keeping individual offices now. These will also go in the next year or so as the university moves fully to open plan. No one wants open plan; no manager answers how we are supposed to teach on-line and work in an open plan office (A5.2, July, 2014).

The excerpt above reveals how the ideological code exerts a political effect by importing the representational order of 'the good social work lecturer' even into the texts and minds of those, like the informant, who are overtly opposed to the representations they generate (Smith, 1993). The academic informant uses university measures of the 'good academic' in terms of publications, ratings of teaching performance, generation of new placements to argue for her promotion and to gain good comments on her yearly performance reviews. The informant learns more about how rewards and punishments based on competition differentially bind workers, to different degrees, into the university hierarchy, even those such as the informant who, coming from a feminist background in the

women's sector, dislike, and do not believe in the perceived benefits of competition and hierarchy.

Being allocated, or not, an office of one's own, and use of discretionary bonuses are techniques that serve to justify, create and maintain the university hierarchy. Discretionary bonuses, and discretionary punishments such as a lack of a bonus, are used to create a 'university managerial class' of senior academics and senior administrators that erodes, at times fully displacing, traditional academic collegiality. This is confirmed by Tony Aspromourgos (2015) who identifies a few reasons for, and implications of, the increase in power of academic managers over academic workers more broadly in Australian universities. Discretionary salary supplementation, also known as academic pay loadings, higher duties loadings and bonuses, are not consistent across disciplines, or universities, for senior academic staff (Aspromourgos, 2015). Where allocated, it usually ties those academics into ongoing reviews by managers which can undermine collegial governance and the potential for upfront debate at meetings of faculty and executive (Aspromourgos, 2015, p.82). Salary supplementation is much more generally distributed among university managers and works forcefully to 'make each layer of the university managerial class beholden to the next level up the hierarchy, further undermining collegial governance' (Aspromourgos, 2015, p.83). Moreover, Aspromourgos (2012, p.44) identifies the rise of a managerialist approach to university governance predicated on a competition model has led to the 'emergence also of an academic managerial class that exercises power in the contemporary university, as a class distinct and largely separated from the bulk of working academics'. The technique of a line management structure, as experienced by the academic informant, within the managerialist approach 'makes it clear that each level of management is responsible to those further up the structure, not to those 'below', has entailed a repudiation of the traditional collegial model of the university' (Aspromourgos, 2012, p.44).

In the following section, the impacts on the informant of the high value that RU places on achieving publications and research that is considered to be 'world class' is explored.

LOOK WORLD CLASS

After her promotion, and in the preparation of materials for her annual performance review, Audre describes, in Narrative 16, the influence on her own work of the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* that emphasises high performance in journal and university ratings.

Narrative 16: Audre - 'Our individual goals are required to align with the university strategic plan'

I have just had my performance review meeting. Academics are reviewed each year with their manager to set individual goals for the year to come and review individual performance for the year that has been. Our individual goals are required to align with the university strategic plan, which aligns with the ERA and the university funding compact and contracts with government. We are rated by our manager as to our degree of success, or lack of success, in meeting our plan. If we are not successful, this may be a reason that the employment of academics is terminated before the end of the probationary period, or do not get a promotion, or do not proceed up the salary scale. I use someone's suggestion and prepare a 'brag book' to refer to in the meeting. I rely heavily on my role in field education, in managing the complexity of increased competitiveness in field education and in generating new placements. I make the case how I have met the required targets for teaching, service, research and publications. I understand now how the university gets money from the government on the basis of this reporting of publications. If I do not have enough publications, I will not get even the small amounts of time allocated to research in our workloads. I have to appear to fit what the university values. I do my best to appear to fit, so that I can continue my work with students where we are meeting outside of class in mutual mentoring sessions. Although the 'A' journal list part of this is no longer in formal use, we are told in appraisals and from the corporate level, to aim to publish in, top quality 'A' journals as this helps make us, the university, look world class (A5.3, October, 2014).

The informant experiences the power of line-management and finds that she must appear to fit what the university values, in order to get, even a small, recognition of research in her

annual work load. Taken up more broadly, Stephen Ball (2010, pp.125-126) explains the willingness of academics to self-exploit as being based in the competitive nature of performative systems that shape both oppression and rewards:

And it is important to recognise that performative systems offer us the possibility of being better than we were, or even being the best – better than others.

Performativity is not in any simple sense a technology of oppressions; it also offers satisfactions and rewards, at least to some. Indeed, performativity works best *when we come to want for ourselves what is wanted from us*; when our sense of purpose is aligned with its pleasures.

The informant refers to the rankings of journals and of the university's goal to be 'world class'. These metrics reflect what Blackmore (2015, p.182) describes as the second, globalised phase of restructuring of higher education in Australia, which joined higher education research to the capacity of the national economy to compete internationally through the priority setting by government research funders. In the process, universities became 'transnational corporations... restructured within increasingly diverse and complex global higher education markets'.

In the following section, the informant describes the nature and volume of the work that she must do to be a lecturer. Much of this work is not counted in the formal workload formula that underpins the hours she is allocated to achieve tasks. This invisible work forms the relations of exploitation.

INVISIBLE AND UNRECOGNISED WORK

In the next journal excerpt (Narrative 17), the informant describes how she relies on her performance review, conducted by a line manager that rates her performance according to metrics contained in the university strategic plan, to argue for recognition in the workload of some time for research.

Narrative 17: Audre - 'The unrecognised work necessary to do the work'

A meeting takes place with the manager to set workloads for the year. The workloads have to conform to the workload model that is said to be consistent with

enterprise agreement. In the first years of my work at the university, I think I was even more overloaded with teaching and service, and work that did not seem to fit or count anywhere. I did not understand enough about the system to advocate effectively for myself. Managers always said there was no more money in the budget for more staff, for help with marking. The managers were clear they were responsible to higher managers to bring their areas in close to allocated budgets. I worked every weekend and many nights to manage my job.

I think my immediate managers probably did, and do, what is possible to allocate work within the parameters of the workload model, but the model does not adequately recognise the length of time needed to perform different tasks in different contexts; it does not recognise the variety of tasks or work that must be done to get the work done. The unrecognised work necessary to do the work includes the time it takes to set up a classroom for a simulation or practice skills session with students, time to keep pace with the constant technological changes, the time to read the endless emails that may inform of a change in policy or practice that you have to implement, or emails telling you of the amazing achievements of others who secure grants or win awards, time to navigate changes in the university website, time to adapt to changes in the online teaching platform, time to secure and manage external markers, time to find the current electronic location of the forms we have to fill out for everything.

So much of the administrative work has been devolved to academics. We: transfer student results from one online environment and data entry them to a spreadsheet, fill out electronic forms to book a car, to apply for a grant, to report on the grant, to report the air-conditioning is not working, to request anything. Just searching for, finding and filling out one form correctly can take far too long. The WAM states there are 1690 hours of paid work in a full-time year of 46 weeks. It seems a bit cynical and cruel when the maths of the formula can never work when so much of the work done by academics is not counted as work – it is just invisible. I don't know anyone, at least in the less senior ranks, that does not work beyond this 'mythical' 1690 hours. The university gets the benefit of all the extra hours as unpaid

labour. The PPR process ensures we all feel the necessity to go beyond the 1690 paid hours in order to earn our place, keep earning our place, and to get the rewards of being allocated the units we would like to teach, or being provided with the maximum amounts of external marking or time for research, or with small grants to do research or attend conferences. The work involved in preparing for AASW re-accreditations is huge and does not seem to be counted in workloads. (A5.4, October 2014).

This account highlights the tensions whereby academics can love their job whilst feeling overwhelmed and alienated by those parts of it that are not recognised, not resourced or administrative. The informant realises that in self-managing and self-exploiting, working at nights and on weekends, to deal with the overwork, she enables the managerialist university to make profit with free labour. Jeannie Rea (2016), President of the National Tertiary Education Union reports that the 'unpaid work undertaken by university staff in Australia represents a donation of about 16, 000 full-time jobs or about 1.7 billion in unpaid labour'. As Casey Brienza observes, '...the habit of self-exploitation individualizes employment risk and blocks collective solutions to sector-wide occupational problems' (Brienza, 2016, p.107).

This self-exploitation is further understood from the relational perspective of class, as introduced in Chapter 1. The informant lecturer, at the second bottom level of the academic ranking structure, has less autonomy and authority within the organisational hierarchy in relation to production, than the Senior Lecturers, Associate Professors and Professors, above her in the academic stream. The informant also has less autonomy and authority compared to middle and senior administration staff. The ability of higher level managers to avoid sanctions and to achieve rewards, often bonuses (Aspromourgos, 2012), for budget constraint reveal the existence and nature of 'mutually antagonistic self-interest' (Prins et al., 2015, p.1354) between managers and more junior workers in the university. This is evident where the material welfare of managers relies causally on the material deprivations of more junior workers, such as the self-exploitation of the informant.

The technology of oppressions includes the stress, described above by the informant, of doing the invisible and unrecognised work that academics need to do to do the work that is counted in workload formulas, or to do work that the academic values. This concern is recognised more broadly by researchers such as Gornall and Salisbury (2012, p. 139) who describe the work needed to be done to do the work as the 'meta-logistics of the modern academic workload'. Similar to the description above by the informant, Polster (2012, p.125) writes of the 'daily announcements, memos and workshops introducing and explaining university rules and their continual changes', many of which also inform of greater administrative and regulatory burdens.

The following section describes, from the relational perspective of class, how junior lecturers are more vulnerable to the disciplinary measures of policies such as the staff codes of conduct.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM SUBJECT TO LOYALTY TO THE CORPORATION

In the next journal entry (Narrative 18), the informant describes how she learns of changes in the RU (PRU4) *Staff Code of Conduct* that prioritises loyalty to the university as a corporation, over academic freedom.

Narrative 18: Audre - 'Total loyalty to the university as a corporation'

I do not like though what it takes to work within the managerial culture. I have advocated over the years at different times for better work and study conditions for staff, and for students. Sometimes, I do not advocate when I know that I should. I have spoken about social justice issues at staff meetings and at other meetings at the university. I have been told to watch myself, as the university has used the staff code of conduct to discipline those staff they want to silence or get rid of. I was shocked when I read the updated code of conduct at how it requires total loyalty to the university as a corporation and also at the discipline measures that can be invoked. Other staff tell me to be careful not to push too hard or applications for small grants to research may not be approved by those higher up. I see some of those that do not take the corporate line being marginalised, and some leave. Some other staff have left to take up jobs in other universities in the hope that workloads

will be better, or to secure a more senior position, or in the hope of a better work and family fit. At times, I feel like I am in an episode of the satirical comedy television show on ABC television, 'Utopia' (A6.1, April, 2015).

The transition described from junior to senior academic describes how hard, perhaps impossible, it is to not be partly or fully socialised into the 'panopticon' of university ways, particularly by the 'academic rewards systems' (O'Meara, 2011, p.179) and RU (PRU4) *Staff Code of Conduct* policy that can reward, discipline and punish. As a junior academic, the informant realises her greater vulnerability to being disciplined as compared to more senior staff. There have been recent incidences reported in Australia where staff conduct and performance appraisal policies have been identified as means by which the academic freedom and ability to complain about increased workloads has been reduced, and managed (Trounson, 2012; Bessant, 2014; Joseph, 2016; Timms, 2016). Workload stress similar to that described by the informant is documented in Australian studies (Winefield, Boyd, & Saebel, 2008; Bexley, et al., 2011a).

The narratives of the informant in this chapter reveal a disjuncture experienced between what work the academic loves (teaching, research, writing and community service), the activities counted in official texts referred to in Narrative 17, as 'the WAM' as work, and the actual work carried out by the academic. The actual work not sufficiently counted in workload includes various forms of administration (entering grade results onto data sheets, doing one's own human resources processing, filling out forms, keeping up with technology etc.). There is also the caring work of seeing students, responding to crises, caring for other staff. This is maintained by working on weekends and in the evenings, and managing the senses of inadequacy and frustration for not being able to set aside time to write in the same way as a senior academic, and not being able to maintain good teaching practices. The academic finds herself feeling like she lives in a satirical comedy (Utopia, Sitch, Cilauro, & Gleisner, 2014) about bureaucrats and corporate rhetoric. The informant is in 'a kind of nightmare fusion of the worst elements of state bureaucracy and market logic' (Graeber, 2014, p.78).

The data provides examples of the presence of a managerialist approach to university governance with a line management structure. Each level of management is responsible to those further up the structure, and not to those below. The administrative 'academic managerial class' (Aspromourgos, 2012) is typical of most Australian universities and exercises power as a class distinct and separate from most working academics. The change in the power structure of the university is documented by Judith Bessant (2014, p. 231), 'Over those decades, academics had been stripped of the intellectual authority they once seemed to enjoy...managers rather than academics now make judgments about academic practices and speak on behalf of the university'. The senior managerial group at universities are led by Vice Chancellors whose enormous growth in annual salaries averaging \$873, 571 each in 2015, with nine vice-chancellors reported to have earned more than \$1 million dollars (Hare, 2016). Increases in the salaries and power of vice-chancellors has grown as a result of the marketisation of higher education and reflects the top-down managerialist model. Bessant (2014, p.233) goes on to provide documentation of how 'redundancy provisions were used to punish and silence'. Drawing on the work of Sunstein (2006), Bessant (2014, p.254) describes how self-silencing occurs, 'a belief that one's reputation will suffer, that 'we' will be punished or not rewarded for speaking, is what engenders self-silencing'.

Narratives and policies analysed in this section have documented how junior lecturers are more vulnerable than senior academic and administrative managers to the disciplinary measures activated by policies such as workload formulas and the staff codes of conduct. The existence and nature of 'mutually antagonistic self-interest' (Prins et al., 2015, p.1354) was documented between managers and more junior workers in the university. The status and privileges of managers, imbued with relations of anxious competition and insecurity (Bessant, 2014) were found to rely causally on the material deprivations and subordination of more junior workers, such as the self-exploitation of the informant.

CONCLUSION

Building on Chapter 3, the data and analysis in this chapter demonstrated how the 'good social work lecturer' is primarily measured by degree of contribution to achieving the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* and the AASW (2014b) *Strategic Plan 2014-17*. This included:

producing high rates of publications in perceived 'A' class journals; securing high levels of research income generation; complying with the RU (PRU4) *Staff Code of Conduct* requiring prioritisation of patriotic loyalty to the university mission and corporate brand over academic freedom; passing, to the highest level possible, all quality assurance measures and accreditations including, particularly important for social work, AASW re-accreditations; not causing problems for line managers; and, more so for junior academics, self-exploiting to achieve high ratings in student evaluations of teaching performance and delivery of units. In addition, the 'good social work lecturer' is committed to the 'professional project' of social work as outlined in the AASW (2014b) *Strategic Plan* and supports use of AASW resources to seek registration, occupational closure and higher professional status.

The lecturer informant's narratives expressed contradictory responses to these dominant constructions of the ideological code of the 'good social work academic'. On the one hand, the informant worked to perform and evidence some of the metrics and qualities defined by the RU and the AASW as excellence and professionalism. This confirms Smith's (1993, p.50) observations that ideological codes can exert a 'significant political effect by importing representational order even into the texts of those who are overtly opposed to the representations they generate'. However, the informant was not unaware of the nature of this compliance, hoping she could appropriate its rewards and protections to enable her to quietly implement her own 'strategic plan' to create microcosms of what she perceived as a pedagogy of social work education about social justice for social justice, and, when able, to more publicly advocate for policy and practice reforms in line with this vision of social justice.

The narratives in this, and the previous chapter, describe how membership of groups subordinated due to racialised, gendered and classed relations can be a source of oppression and discrimination, but also sources of strength, accountability and motivation. The student informant's narrative described the strength she drew from her commitment to others, primarily based on the South Sudanese ethnic communal ontology, including obligation. The lecturer informant described motivation derived from her sense of obligation to others who are not recognised within the dominant white, middle-classed masculine habitus, and those who, like herself, are 'second chance' students.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I have shown how the ability to activate the 'the good social work student' and the 'good social work lecturer' is socially organised in terms of certain types of academic work, social work study, and people being celebrated or experiencing a good 'fit', and others being downplayed or ignored. In the next chapter (Chapter 6), I present data comprising narratives and texts to explicate and analyse the work of a social work professor.

CHAPTER SIX: THE 'GOOD SOCIAL WORK PROFESSOR'

INTRODUCTION

The ideological codes of the 'good social work lecturer' and the 'good social work professor' are related and framed within the broader codes of the 'good academic' and the 'good social worker'. In the previous chapter (Chapter 5), analysis based on narratives and texts indicated that being a female, lower status junior lecturer without a PhD, with caring responsibilities and caring work, restricted the capacity to be a 'good social work lecturer'. I demonstrate in this chapter, how the 'good social work professor', like the 'good social work lecturer', is required to contribute to the goals of 'excellence [that provides] a clear return on ...investment' as set out in the RU (PRU1, p.4) *Strategic Plan* and of 'promoting and regulating the social work profession' as identified in the mission of the AASW (2014b, p.1) in their *Strategic Plan*.

In this chapter, I draw on data collected between 2011 and 2016 including informant narratives, and a brief resume provided by the informant, and texts to outline and examine the work of being a senior, white, male, working-class background professor of social work. Drawing on this examination, and previous analysis chapters, I continue to demonstrate how social and historical processes, including meta-ideologies of neoliberal colonialist patriarchy, and institutional and organisational discourses produce the related ideological codes of the 'good social work lecturer' and the 'good social work professor'. Despite being presented as impartial, I show how these ideological codes serve as racialised, gendered and classed organisers, including some experiences and groups of people, and excluding others.

This chapter commences with a brief outline of Australian secondary education in the 1950s and 1960s. This provides historical context for the subsequent informant narratives that explain how being a white-Euro male born in the late 40s, from a working-class background has shaped the informant's experiences of education and being a professor. Next, is a discussion of class and classism that continues exploration of this core analytic focus of this study. Building on analysis from previous chapters, the connection of

empathy to experiences of privilege and oppression is then discussed. This is followed by a discussion of the presence and impact of the entrepreneurial approach of RU on the informant. The disciplinary impact of quality assurance regimes is then analysed. The chapter is concluded with an examination of how the professor occupies a 'contradictory class location' (Prins et al., 2015).

AUSTRALIAN SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE 1950S AND 1960S

Secondary schooling was not universal in Australia before the 1960s, and it was only in the 1980s that everyone had, at least the theoretical, opportunity to complete Year 12 (Campbell & Proctor, 2014). Between 1951 and 1975 secondary schooling would become universal and more usual at least until the age of 15 or 16, but it was still only a minority who completed the final years of secondary school. In 1963, when the informant left his secondary education at age 14, this was common, especially for those positioned as non-elite or 'disadvantaged' through intersections of race, class, gender and dis/ability. The practices and regulations enforcing separate schooling for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people began to be dismantled. There was a wide variation in the schooling experience of Indigenous children (Campbell & Proctor, 2014).

As discussed in the Prelude, Richard Smith is a white-Euro Australian man, born in inner Sydney in the late 1940's, who grew up in a working-class family. Richard's father was a semi-skilled wood machinist who worked in timber yards and his mother was a housewife. When Richard turned 14, he left school to work with his father in the timber yard. In the first excerpt below (Narrative 20), Richard describes his decision to return to school.

Narrative 20: Richard - 'Back to night school'

If it had not been for a romantic relationship with a woman from another class, I may never have found a pathway out of that class situation. She encouraged me to consider furthering my education and validated in me some sense that perhaps I might be able to do something different with my life. So, at the age of 19, I went back to 'night school' to complete years 9 and 10 of secondary school, while continuing to work in timber yards full-time... (R8, July, 2014).

In 1968, when Richard returned to secondary education at 'night school', completion of secondary schooling was still not expected or usual for white working-class men or women, or for most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, or for many visibly different minority background peoples, or for working-class or low-income peoples with disabilities. The informant left night school in 1969, three-months before completing his secondary education. In 1974, Richard completed a Bachelor of Arts (Environmental Design), having been accepted into the course based on life experience and interview. In 1977, Richard completed his Bachelor of Arts (Social Work). In the next narrative (Narrative 21) Richard describes his experience of studying under-graduate social work, and the reasons behind his decision to take a year's leave of absence.

Narrative 21: Richard - 'A sense of unease'

I felt a sense of unease during my education as a social worker. Much of the content of social work theory and practice subjects left me feeling dubious and negative. I suspect that some of this reaction and unease came from my own lived experience of working-class life, as this was at odds with the middle-class conception of working-class clients conveyed to myself and other students in the classroom. Late in my degree, I was stunned to realise that I was communicating 'like a social worker'. Despite trying to resist the more traditional aspects of the curriculum, I realised that I had become socialised into a profession that I felt unsure of. In response to this realisation, I then left the course for a year to consider these matters in more depth (R8, February, 2014).

In this narrative, Richard describes his negative reaction to classism, finding the discourse of the social work course that constructed the lives of working-class clients inauthentic compared to his own lived experience. This disjuncture is similarly described by participants in an Australian case-study (Twomey & Boyd, 2016) of people born in the 1950s and 1960s who were the first in their family to enrol in tertiary education in the 1970s and 1980s. Also relevant is Christina Twomey and Jodie Boyd's (2016) findings that although class is an important component of analysis, it is always present in multifaceted ways in relation to gender, ethnicity and the subjectivity of the people concerned. These intersections were

found to structure 'both the capacity for further education and [people's] experiences once admitted to it' (Twomey & Boyd, 2016, p.11). Taking up the informant's negative reaction to classism, the next section explores

CLASS AND CLASSISM

The judgement of inauthenticity the informant expressed in his account, may have also been due to classist stereotypes in the theories and pedagogy of the social work course. These stereotypes lack structural analysis of the cause of the inequalities confronting people positioned as clients. Based on a study of 112 middle-class persons and 124 welfare recipients in America, Heather Bullock (1999, p.2059) makes the link between 'the endorsement of classist stereotypes (that is, widely shared and socially sanctioned beliefs about the poor) and anti-welfare sentiment'. Bullock (1999, p.2059) defines classism as 'the oppression of low-income people through a network of everyday practices, attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and institutional rules'. In a later study, involving 41 welfare recipients and 39 social workers, Bullock (2004, p.584) reports on similarities and differences in welfare recipients' and social workers' perceptions about poverty, finding that although both groups, 'endorsed economic/structural causes for poverty ...welfare recipients expressed stronger support for progressive welfare policies, perceived the welfare system as more legitimate, and regarded discrimination as a more important cause of poverty than did social workers'. Classist stereotypes are reinforced by models of psychology that concentrate on the individual without due consideration of the wider social forces that shape the opportunities of different groups of people.

The dominant psychology that underpinned most social work courses when the informant studied his under-graduate social work degree, aligned with a more individual, than structural, view of the causation of poverty and unemployment (Breakwell, 1982; Pease, 2003; Morley, et al., 2014). This is important, given poverty and class are one of the primary, underpinning reasons for the contact between social workers and service users (Sheedy, 2013; Hosken, 2016). Individualist psychology combined with the predominant, middle-classed, often paternalistic and charitable, orientation of the mainstream social work profession (Birch, 1996; Walkowitz, 1999; Mendes, 2005; Huppatz, 2010; Peel, 2011), serves to orient social workers to 'look down'. This middle-classed, expert positioning can involve

overt or implicit judgment that service users somehow invited their own discrimination, economic exploitation, disadvantage and problems, or had not exercised sufficient agency to change their circumstances.

An aspiration to the 'professional-managerial' (Graeber, 2014) class increases the likelihood of many social work academics being co-opted by pressures and invitations for complicity with the individualist, competitive, orientation that underpins the neoliberal, 'enterprise university' (Marginson & Considine, 2000). As the data in this thesis suggests, this is particularly the case for those without a counter-veiling sense of accountability to a group, such as to the working-class. The informant's description of his working-class orientation is that it does not fit with the presumptive allegiance to corporate or professional authority. It is this sort of authority that is perceived as required of professional social work. In Australia, professional social work is underpinned by a middle-class, paternalistic, expert-led confidence, particularly associated with individual, psychological-oriented counselling work (Repo, 1977). It is this more conservative stream that has dominated the development of mainstream professional social work as represented by the AASW (Mendes, 2005; Morley, et al., 2014).

In Narrative 21 above, the informant describes exercising agency, and leaving his undergraduate social work course. Richard distanced himself from the individualist orientation of the social work course and from complicity in objectification, stereotyping and misrecognition that enacts symbolic and material violence against working-class experiences of poverty and injustices (Hosken, 2016). Misrecognition, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6 is 'the withdrawal of social recognition, in the phenomena of humiliation and disrespect' (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p.134). Social work service users have reported being misrecognised, offended and hurt when looked down upon by the majority in society (including social workers) because of their receipt of income support, living in public housing, being a low-income sole parent, being non-white, attending state schools in poorer areas, or living on the streets (Frederick & Goddard, 2008; Bessell, 2011; Buckley, Carr, & Whelan, 2011). Greg Marston and Catherine McDonald (2012, p.1032) argue that social work has 'a collective and professional responsibility to challenge [this sort of] cultural misrecognition when it is encountered'.

In the next narrative (Narrative 22), the informant describes how he drew on his working-class background and political awareness to provide a sense of direction to inform his work as professor and discipline leader, and his decisions to advocate within the university.

Narrative 22: Richard - 'Whose class interest does it serve?'

To guide acts of resistance, I ask the question when confronted with a policy or administrative choice: whose class interest does it serve? Does it further the interests of the elite or does it empower those at the bottom of the class hierarchy? (I have varied this question at times in relation to gender, race and other social divisions). This question gave me some sense of direction when I was a Discipline Leader and when I had been under pressure to promote some aspect of University policy downwards to staff. I have never set out to garnish praise or rewards for serving the University goals and I have often been told by colleagues that a particular utterance or action was 'courageous'. I always tried to take an advocate position in support of staff when their interests were at stake and apply pressure upwards. This did not make me popular with Heads of Schools and Deans....When I think about how my class background influences my practice in university forums and conferences, I suspect that it has shaped my tendency to 'call a spade a spade'. I have always been inclined to speak honestly and directly about a topic, when many of my colleagues are likely to avoid raising an issue due to politeness and conventions about what is appropriate in a given setting. At conferences and at public university forums, I am inclined to name what I think is going on and comment on 'the elephant in the room'. While this is often appreciated by many, I also know that others think me rude at times for saying something that will be experienced by some as challenging or confronting. I think that I have less respect for the conventions of politeness when I think that a 'truth' is at stake. I hadn't previously thought about this as a class issue. However, on reflection, I suspect that it is (R8, July, 2015).

In this narrative, the informant describes how his working-class tendency to speak the truth does not fit with some of the RU corporate contexts. The lack of fit is more apparent when considered against the RU (PRU4) *Staff Code of Conduct* that requires loyalty to the corporation over academic freedom of speech (explained in more detail below). Richard's experience is that his working-class background activates some of his honesty and advocacy behaviour. This is reflected in research that indicates when compared to corporate leaders, working-class contexts involve a greater sense of social engagement, interdependence and social connection (Kraus & Stephens, 2012, p.643); high empathic accuracy (Kraus, Côté, & Keltner, 2010); adaptive agency; communal styles of helping; different conceptions of morality; higher ethical standards; greater attention to context (Côté, 2011); and high levels of generosity (Piff, Kraus, Côté, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010).

Narrative 22 also raises question about the nature of agency. Richard identifies his working-class background as influencing his agency in taking an advocate role on behalf of staff, and this is reflected in relevant literature. The degree that Richard's sense of agency to advocate or challenge also comes from being a white-Euro male in a senior position in a predominately white organisation, is difficult to discern.

In the next excerpt (Narrative 23) Richard discusses a lack of self-confidence, like many other academics from the working-class.

Narrative 23: Richard - 'Feelings of doubt'

Despite my educational qualifications, my academic position and my publications output over the last twenty-five years, I lack the self-confidence of those who are raised in more class-privileged families. My experience is like other academics from the working class who lack of self-confidence about one's capacities and the sense that at any time you will be exposed as having no right to be doing the job you are doing (R8, February 2014).

Based on the analysis in this chapter, and in those relating to the student and lecturer informants, I suggest that feeling the 'imposter phenomenon', where informants held 'a secret belief, despite accomplishments, that they do not deserve the success or

recognition they have earned' (Long, Jenkins, & Bracken, 2000, p.2) indicates higher levels of individual and social empathy (Kraus, et al., 2010) that derive from experiences of belonging, and senses of ongoing accountability, to their subordinated groups.

EMPATHY AND SUBORDINATION

The data in this study both confirms and extends the work of Cigdem Sirin, Nicholas Valentino and Jose Villalobos (2016, p.3) who nominated the term 'Group Empathy Theory', to describe their findings that:

empathy for outgroups emerges at a young age, as a result of socialization experiences. To take the perspective of another person, it helps to have in memory a repertoire of relevant experiences ... members of historically oppressed groups [are] better able to perceive and relate to other minorities experiencing discrimination, especially when it mirrors their own group's experiences. A salient narrative of group oppression and struggle may in fact trigger empathy toward another experiencing discrimination... historically disadvantaged groups (e.g., minorities and women) might find it easier to imagine themselves in the position of a person being unfairly treated, even when that person comes from a different group.

The three informants in this study have described obligations derived from experiences of belonging, and senses of ongoing accountability, to their subordinated groups. Each informant described being subjected to 'misrecognition', sometimes not being seen by those more able to activate the ideological codes, at other times judged as being 'no-one', where 'no-one' describes those furthest from the ideological codes. The informants, however, maintain a sense of themselves as embedded in their group memberships that invoke obligations including commitments to try to redress the personal, organisational and systemic discriminations that negatively affect the discriminated against groups they identify with, and also impact other similarly discriminated against groups. These feelings of membership, community, obligation and solidarity motivate them to distance themselves from the perceived oppressive aspects of these ideological codes. The informants each expressed awareness of the ideological codes as being embedded in organisational, institutional and ideological discourses that include elements that oppress

them and the subordinated groups they identify membership with. The informants also identify how the codes and discourses contained in the texts of RU and the AASW do not adequately represent their visions of a good social work student, a good social work academic or a good social worker. In addition, the focus on regulation and compliance, are experienced as combining to prevent, or at least not coherently encourage, the work for socially just educational and work organisations and relations that the informants perceive social workers should advocate for.

For black women like Denalh, from backgrounds of colonialism and discrimination in her home country (and in her newer home country), war and poverty, the imposter phenomenon is formed as much through race and gender as class. For white women like Audre, from a background where mothers did not have independent wealth and women and girls were subject to overt and covert discrimination and harassment, the impostor phenomenon is formed through gender as much as class. However, Audre experienced 'unearned advantages' (Pease, 2010) that invite complicities based on her white race that resonate with strands of the ideological code. For Denalh and Audre, their experiences are exacerbated through socialisation into societies where women's lower status compared to men is constantly reinforced. 'Both the family and female gender role socialization in a predominantly male-normed society coincide to form impostor feelings' (Long, et al., 2000, p.3). Class is the primary cause of the impostor phenomenon for Richard, also exacerbated by age and employment status. The 'advantages' of white race and male gender often, however, combined to confer significant 'unearned advantage' that enable(d) Richard to 'pass' in being recognised by those abler to activate the ideological code. With less experiences of different axes of oppression and their cumulative causations of doubt, I also suggest that, Richard, similar to other working-class background white men, may have less individual and social empathy than those peoples and groups who experience more axes of oppression. The experience of gender discrimination, oppression and misrecognition occurs both within the social relations of the private sphere, of the family, as well as in the public sphere. This seems one of the key differences between oppression based solely on class or race within same class or race families/communities, and oppression based on gender. Unlike race and class discrimination and oppression, there is often no reprieve from gender discrimination and oppression within the socialisation and relations inside the family. For

those with higher levels of individual and social empathy, there is more work involved in being a social work student, a social work academic or a social worker to change policies and practices that negatively impact those discriminated against. Alternatively, narratives of the lecturer informant also reveal that, at times, she worked to suppress empathy (Feldman, Huddy, Wronski, & Lown, 2016), to enable her to activate elements of the ideological code of the 'good social work academic' that she desired, and/or believed may be protective of her and others.

THE ENTREPRENEURIAL APPROACH

In order to achieve the goals, set out in the RU (PRU1, p.18) *Strategic Plan*, it is claimed that the employees need to possess the 'RU Personality' of being 'courageous, approachable, motivating, polished and slick'. This is the personality identified by RU leadership that academics need to assist RU (PRU1, p.11) in its mission to become 'one of Australia's leading universities in its entrepreneurial approach to applying these ideas to improve our state, our nation and our world'.

In response to prompts from the researcher, Richard describes in the narrative below (Narrative 24) his understanding of whom the university perceives as a 'good social work professor', and what his work involves as a professor/discipline leader in social work. This narrative refers to the impact of the entrepreneurial approach of the university on how the work of the informant is valued.

Narrative 24: Richard - 'I would never get an award as researcher of the year'

The 'good social work professor' seems to be one who publishes extensively in high impact journals and who brings in large amounts of competitive research funding. This is most evident in terms of university awards that are awarded to those individuals who attain very high levels of outcome in regards to these two criteria. The 'good social work professor' also devotes time to providing high levels of service to the university, promoting the interests of the management in high level policy committees. There is less interest in teaching quality, reaching larger audiences outside of the university and one's professional discipline with one's writing and

research or with writing and research that has a strong social justice agenda...it is most evident in those who are awarded prizes for their academic achievements. It is also evident in the form of regular announcements about those who were successful in gaining competitive research grants. It is also evident in terms of the expectations in performance and planning reviews to publish in the most high-ranked journals and to bring in competitive research funding. It is also evident in the Faculty research office where books and book chapters are often relegated to lower status because it is assumed that if there is no empirical data, they must be simply rehashing old ideas. As a young academic, senior colleagues emphasised the importance of working extended hours and also finding a publishing 'niche' to specialise in. I remember being told by a senior academic that it would not be good for my career if I published in too many diverse fields and if I communicated in ways that those outside of my discipline could easily understand (R7, November, 2015).

...

As a fulltime professor, my work involved the following activities: Writing and presenting lectures, assessing students' work, providing advice to students about assignments, administering student results, preparing accreditation reports for university and external accreditation, updating handbook entries, attending marketing meetings and open days to promote courses, supervising higher degree research students, providing progress reports on higher degree research students, reading and commenting on PhD draft chapters, recruiting examiners for PhD students, responding to inquiries about PhDs, examining PhDs, developing new courses and new units, writing external study guides, chairing staff meetings, attending staff meetings, attending School and Faculty meetings, conducting performance and planning reviews of staff, advising staff on publishing outlets for their work, reading draft articles for staff and providing comments, listening to and responding to staff concerns about aspects of their work, preparing staff work plans and negotiating staff workloads, requesting adequate resources to fund courses, preparing applications for conference and study leave, writing abstracts for conferences and book chapters, preparing articles, book chapters and books for

publication, revising articles, book chapters and books in response to reviewer feedback, submitting publication outcomes for university accounting, reviewing articles for journals, recruiting reviewers for articles for journals that I am associated with, reviewing book proposals and book manuscripts for publishers, providing endorsement blurbs for books for publishers, reading to update lectures and to stay in touch with new ideas in social work and beyond... Also, of course, none of the above capture the unexpected interruptions by phone, email or office drop in that make up part of the day. As a senior white male academic, I have felt a degree of freedom to resist the university imperatives to publish in high-ranked journals with high impact factors. I have thus been able to write in a style that suites me and for audiences that I want to reach, whether that be in books, book chapters or less prestigious journals. My less senior colleagues, who need to establish their careers are under much greater pressure to conform to managerialist prerogatives. So, while I would never get an award as researcher of the year, I nevertheless publish extensively, albeit in ways that are not highly valued by the university (R7, November, 2015).

In Narrative 24 above, Richard refers to his work as a professor/discipline leader. Before directly discussing the informant's narrative, I outline how this role has undergone immense change within Australian universities over the past decade. Australian professors sit at the top of the five-level academic ranking structure, below which are the levels of Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer, Lecturer and Associate Lecturer. With variations, the status of professor has diminished across time, particularly for those that are heads of departments with research, teaching, service and management of department functions. The diminishment or not of professor status can vary in relation to factors including the status of: the university in which they work; the Faculty in which they are located; if they are a research- only professor; or, if they are a discipline leader, what disciplines they lead.

To illuminate the contemporary role of a professor at a non-Go8 university, like the ones where the informant was employed, I refer to an excerpt from a recent job advertisement for a *Professor of Social Work* in Australia (Times Higher Education, 2017). The position description specified that 'the appointee will be responsible for the academic

leadership, development and operational management of the Social Work program, ensuring it aligns with [the University's] priorities and meets AASW objectives for accreditation'. The role specification emphasises corporate responsibilities over academic ones, requiring the appointee to focus on aligning the social work program with the priorities of the university. This reflects the current managerial climate of the 'enterprise university' (Marginson & Considine, 2000) said to dominate most Australian universities. The job advertisement also provides an example of the move from the collegial style of academic governance in Australian universities, prevalent until the 1980s, to the current dominance of corporate governance, in which the role of the academic professor has changed (Rowlands, 2016).

While acknowledging variation within higher education governance structures, Rowlands (2016, p.xi) outlines three key elements of the contemporary governance structure of Australian universities. Corporate governance occurs through a council and academic governance through an academic board. Both are subservient to Vice-Chancellors, and their direct reports, who, Rowlands (2016, p.xii) finds, are 'the sites of executive leadership within contemporary universities and the undisputed locus of power'. Rowlands (2016, p.xi) explains the difference between the corporate and academic governance of universities, where corporate governance, undertaken by a governing body or council involves 'the steering and oversight of strategic, financial and management directions, while academic governance [undertaken by the academic board] can involve the oversight of teaching and research and the establishment and protection of quality and standards for their conduct'. Rowlands (2016, p.50) goes on to outline three key features of traditional, collegial-style academic governance:

the existence of a discipline-based community of scholars... that the community organises its own affairs... and independence and autonomy from outside, in that 'the community should be unrestricted by, and unaccountable to, any outside body, since any restriction on academic freedom was deemed to undermine its identity and diminish its central social value as a source of independent, authoritative judgment'.

During the period of collegial governance in Australia, until the 1980s, Rowlands (2016) reports that academic boards within universities were large, including most professors as the highest-ranking staff within the university at that time. These features of collegial academic governance explain how the traditional role of the professoriate relied on academic freedom to act as 'critic and advocate' (MacFarlane, 2012 p.88), to be the 'critic and conscience of society' (Malcolm & Tarling, 2007, in MacFarlane, 2012, p.121). The change in the role of professor reflects a change in the role of the university. According to Rowlands (2016, p.48), there was a common understanding that universities exist to provide teaching, learning and research. Drawing on her research, Rowlands states this understanding has changed at the executive leadership level of most Anglophone universities, including Australian universities. The focus is now on financial viability where teaching, learning and research are only three of many things a modern university does.

Reflecting a large scholarship, Blackmore (2014, p.86) reports that the 'neoliberal policy doxas of managerialism and marketisation have permeated throughout the structures, discourses and values of the university in ways that have changed the rules of the game, the language and structuring of relationships and the processes of formation of different capitals (scientific, intellectual, managerial and entrepreneurial)'. Focusing on leadership in Australian universities, Blackmore (2014, p.91) notes that 'academics recruited into line management were expected to relinquish their academic habitus for a managerial habitus that demands loyalty to the institution and not to their disciplines or colleagues'.

This discussion of the changed role of professors provides a lens to understand the informant's narrative. Richard identified that his privilege as a senior white male academic provided a degree of freedom to resist some of the RU metrics that measure success. However, the informant was not able to activate the full extent of the ideological code of the 'good social work professor'. One reason for this is the informant was a professor/discipline leader of social work, an area considered to be of lower status in Australian universities (Napier & George, 2001). This is reflected in social work receiving a lower band-funding level from the Federal Government in comparison to other practice-based disciplines within health. Social work courses, particularly critical social work oriented courses, also experience less of a fit with the Health faculties, and dominant medical

discourses and research foci and metrics, in which social work education sits. Richard refers to this identifying he is not in the group of 'good professors' that consistently publish in high impact journals and bring in large amounts of competitive research funding.

QUALITY ASSURANCE REGIMES

In Narrative 24 above, the informant also describes experiences of being regulated, audited and surveilled. For thousands of years,' the institution of the university valued academic freedom and practiced self-evaluation (Jarvis, 2014). In a few decades, this has been replaced by systems of quality assurance as a leading regulatory tool in the management of higher education sectors in nearly half the countries of the world (Jarvis, 2014). Quality assurance regimes embed neoliberal 'ideational motifs about efficiency, value, performance, and thus the economic worth of the university to the economy' (Jarvis, 2014, p.156). Underpinned by neoliberal theory and neoliberal management practices, quality assurance regimes assist in the development of quasi-markets within, and between, universities using audit culture (Jarvis, 2014) to emphasise competition, markets, privatisation, individualism and management of the self (Rose, 1990). As shown in the analysis in this chapter, this new RU personality of 'courageous, approachable, motivating, polished and slick' 'academic self', though, is regulated to be reliant on and loyal to their employer, the corporate brand of the 'enterprise university' (Marginson & Considine, 2000). Rather than a RU stated desire for innovation, what is actually encouraged and rewarded (via funding, bonuses, praise, prizes, resources, workload et.) is a culture of same-ness and compliance. Individuals who demonstrate loyalty to the corporate brand are more likely to be-come intellectually, culturally and socially similar. Others are excluded who do not fit the corporate norm in terms of values, leadership and scholarly practices. According to Darryl Jarvis (2014, p.156), 'regulation of the higher education sector is thus equally a politics of surveillance where quality assurance serves as an instrument of accreditation and a mechanism to prise compliance'.

Within Narrative 24 above, are references to the texts that organise the work of the professor informant, including The RU (PRU 28) *Academic Promotion Policy* that specifies that at a Level E (Professor) one of the key Minimum Standards is to 'provide innovative

leadership towards the implementation of the University's Strategic Agenda'. The RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* requires academics to demonstrate commitment to the 'RU Personality', defined in the RU *Strategic Plan* as 'courageous, accessible, motivating, polished and slick'. Also contained within Narrative 24 are references to the RU (PRU1a) *Quality Management Policy*; the RU (PRU 27) *Performance Planning and Review Procedure*, the RU (PRU58) *Workloads and Hours of Work Procedure* as enacted through the RU (PRU59) *Faculty Academic Work Allocation Model* that specifies the 'Discipline-specific research expectation scale' for the academic level and group that determines the 'base research work allocation' for each academic. What counts as a publication is specified as 'total peer reviewed published works - peer reviewed journal papers C1, research books or chapters (A1, B1), full peer reviewed conference manuscripts (not abstracts, only full printed papers counted, E1), not including papers in press'. The number of hours allocated for activities recognised as work are contained in the RU (PRU60) *University-Wide Core Work Allocation Model*.

To understand what ideological codes, institutional discourses and ideological discourses are revealed by the informant's story, it is necessary to consider the texts referred to in his narrative that organised his work as a professor. I have chosen to start with one text, the RU (PRU1a) *Quality Management Policy*, which I analyse below. From this text, I can investigate the organisational complex of textually coordinated work processes in RU that produces global rankings, quality management and continuous quality improvement processes as valid representations of the work of academics and of the role of the university.

The purpose of the RU (PRU1a) *Quality Management Policy* is to set 'out the University's approach to assuring the quality of its activities' in reference to the *University's Strategic Plan*, the *Higher Education Threshold Standard* and other 'external requirements', 'accepted good practice and external benchmarks', stakeholder views and assessments of risks. The RU (PRU1a) *Quality Management Policy* in conjunction with the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* that it refers to identifies the role of the 'good social work academic' as being to assist the Vice Chancellor and the senior executive of RU to achieve the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan*. The requirement for the academic to align their work to the achievement of

the RU (PRU1) Strategic Plan is contained in the RU (PRU27) *Performance Planning and Review* text. This requires passing the audits of the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) against the *Higher Education Threshold Standards*; passing external requirements (in the case of social work being the reaccreditations of the AASW against the AASW (2012) *ASWEAS*; achieving high scores to reach the specified goal of RU being first in the state and top five in Australia for overall satisfaction from students on the *Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure*; RU becoming first in the state for student success, graduate employment, graduate attributes; RU becoming top three in state for research capability (measured by number of co-authored international publications, number of significant international partnerships, international Higher Degree by Research Equivalent full-time student load (EFTSL); RU becoming top three in state for innovation impact (measured by value of funded research partnerships executed, number of patents held, royalty streams and licences granted); RU becoming top three in state for research output (measured by research income, percentage rating above ERA world standard, HDR enrolments/ completions) and top 300 in the world (measured by ARWU).

The 'good social work professor' also needs to comply with the *Quality Management Policy* (PRU 1a) as it refers to the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan*. The RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* requires academics to demonstrate commitment to the 'RU Personality', defined in the RU *Strategic Plan* as 'courageous, approachable, motivating, polished and slick'. Being courageous is not defined, but does not seem to refer to the usual meaning encompassing showing no fear. This is illustrated when the ability of scholars to engage in critical inquiry that is 'robust' and 'unfettered', actions and orientations associated with courage, is actually constrained by the RU (PRU4) *Staff Code of Conduct* requiring staff must 'maintain and uphold the reputation of the University, support its goals and act in its best interests'. This policy requires academic staff in their exercise of academic freedom 'will at all times also observe the *University's Code of Conduct*. In their exercise of academic freedom staff must 'ensure their private actions (including media communications and communications in social media) and participation in non-University activities comply with the 'Code of Conduct', and 'uphold the reputation of the University'.

The good social work academic is also required to help: improve workforce productivity (measured by improvement in labour cost per EFTSL, turnover during first six months of employment, per cent of academics with a PhD). This is related to compliance with RU (PRU60) *University Wide and Faculty Workload Models*, that rely on the RU (PRU59) *University-Wide Core Work Allocation Model*, to specify what activities are counted as work and how many hours are allocated to this work; improve resource utilisation by improving profitability and productivity measures (measured by underlying surplus, growth in student numbers, increase in international student numbers); RU become first in state for staff and student satisfaction (measured by staff and student satisfaction surveys); and help RU become first in state for external industry and community engagement (measured by annual community sentiment survey and alumni engagement).

Academic staff must include a behavioural objective in their *Performance Planning and Review Form Template* to 'Behave in accordance with the University's Code of Conduct'. The template is pre-loaded with performance objectives 'Contribute to RU's strategic goal to make a difference through world-class innovation and research by...' and 'Contribute to RU's strategic goal to offer brilliant education for where students are and where they want to go by...'. The PPR process 'aligns RU's objectives with [staff] skills, competencies, development and the delivery of results. The emphasis is on improvement, learning and development in order to realise the [RU Strategic Plan] and to create a high-performance workforce.

In the next narrative (Narrative 25), the informant discusses the stresses of his work as a professor, which was at odds with the corporate management style of the university.

Narrative 25: Richard - 'A part-time position'

I was highly stressed by the demands of work... the level of psychological stress and having the social work programs going through a ...crisis with a new funding formula meant we had to cut staffing numbers, and the... the Head of School also negotiated a voluntary redundancy that I didn't support... All of a sudden, a program in a very short period of time had gone from a full complement of staff to a situation of being really understaffed and where we had to fight for resources. The struggle to get staff resources reinstated took a toll on me and I began to think this is not really what I

want to do with my life. As well, I reflected on the fact that even when the program was stable, that the level of demands were intense. I found I kept on saying no to things I really wanted to do-in terms of publishing, conferences, consultancy and activist work. So, it was a combination of things that led me to negotiate a part-time position with the Head of School (R4, October, 2013).

The informant's dissatisfaction with excessive administrative demands and bureaucratisation is more widely evidenced in research, identified in a large survey of Australian academics comprising 5 525 responses as 'the most overwhelmingly common theme in the open comments sections of the survey' (Bexley, James, & Arkoudis, 2011a, p. xi). High levels of work pressure are well documented among university staff (Bexley, et al., 2011a; Boyd et al., 2011). Bexley et al. (2011a, p.xi) found that, 'Overall, less than one third of Australian academics believe that their workload is manageable, while just under one half indicate that their workload is not manageable. Close to half of mid and late career staff indicate that their work is a source of considerable personal stress'. The contribution to the stress of Australian academics caused by 'email overload' (Pignata, Lushington, Sloan, & Buchanan, 2015) is documented where academics are dealing with an average of 48.8 email messages per day (Jerejian, Reid, & Rees, 2013).

In the following narrative (Narrative 26) the informant discusses the stress experienced by many middle-managers, who are described as occupying a 'contradictory-class location' (Prins et al., 2015).

Narrative 26: Richard 'I took issues about resources to the Faculty'

When I was Head of Discipline and there were significant budget cuts and a School decision not to recruit for vacated positions, I took issues about resources to the Faculty. When that was rejected, I took them to the Pro-Vice Chancellor for Teaching and Learning. I spent a lot of time and energy getting resources restored to Social Work. While I was successful at doing this, I alienated the Head of School in doing so and overall it took a heavy toll on my physical and emotional health. It influenced the decision to step aside from my permanent full-time position to go part- time, of

which the only avenue available was to transition to retirement (R6, September, 2016).

The term 'contradictory class locations' is explained by Prins et al. (2015 p.1356) to derive from Wright's (1985; 1997) endeavours to use relational class analysis (see Chapter 1) in the context of the more varied relations to production in post-industrial economies. Prins et al. (2015) draw on Wright to explain the situation in modern capitalist countries where the majority of the labour force does not own the means of production and must sell its labour on the market. But many within that group of workers do not undertake the 'manual labour' associated with the traditional working class, nor are exploited and dominated in the same way (Prins et al., 2015). Prins et al. (2015 p.1356) state that 'Wright classifies this group along two dimensions: the possession of skills and expertise and the degree of formal authority within organisational hierarchies in relation to production, both of which confer privilege and strategic advantage'.

A 'CONTRADICTIONARY CLASS LOCATION'

I apply Prins et al.'s (2015) explanation of 'contradictory class locations' to illuminate the cause of the stress experienced by the informant. Richard as a middle-manager, had higher wages and more autonomy than the workers he was responsible for. However, he earned less than his superiors, and did not have the authority to make the big decisions that affected him and the academics he managed. As a middle-manager, the informant was required to enforce strategic policies from upper management (the Vice-Chancellor, senior executive and Council as described above, referring to the work of Rowlands, 2016), who delegate authority to Pro-Vice Chancellors, Executive Deans and then Heads of School to manage Professors/Discipline Leaders. The informant did not develop the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan*, nor exert influence on the policies to enact it. This lack of input and influence into the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* and implementation policies is understandable in consideration of the changes described above in the role of professor, and the lower status of the Academic Board in relation to the Council (Rowlands, 2016). In the conclusion to her six-year study of university governance, Rowland's (2016, p.203) asserts the majority of Anglophone universities display a 'growing disconnection between academic strategy and academic practice, the potentially symbolic roles of academic governance bodies in

academic quality assurance processes and practices and the corporatisation of academic governance'. The presence, and impact on informants, of neoliberal ideology and practices in RU's (PRU1) *Strategic Plan*, policies and quality assurance regimes indicates this is one of those universities with a growing disconnection between academic strategy and academic practice.

The informant was left with the dilemma of imposing policies and decisions he did not make, on himself, and on subordinate academics, who might object to them. The influence of discipline leaders of social work would be expected to calibrate with the general lower status of social work in universities (Green, 2006), and in Health faculties (Napier & George, 2001; Agbim & Ozanne, 2007). This view is supported by the time and energy the informant had to spend getting resources restored to the social work course. Like other middle managers, the informant had the stressful task of absorbing the discontent of both sides. The stresses experienced by the informant described in the next narratives derive from these class processes of exploitation and domination as introduced in Chapter 1.

Due to speaking out and advocating for resources for his team, and refusing to be part of implementing measures to increase staff workloads that would cause additional work stress, the informant perceives he is less valued in the university hierarchy and, therefore, not able to negotiate transition to part-time work on his preferred terms. The work of discipline leaders and other academics had been degraded, exposed to stricter control, surveillance and intensified through the introduction of new technology. In the next narrative (Narrative 27), Richard also raises the issue of how being from a working-class background, his age and transition to part-time impacts his current class position and how he experiences aspects of marginalisation.

Narrative 27: Richard - 'Moving to part-time work and growing old'

I have reflected on my current class location and how being a white, straight man intersects with being from a working-class background. Some of the privileges are being eroded by other sources of marginalization. I have stepped aside from discipline leadership roles, moved to part-time work and am growing old. In this new context, it is more complex to consider what my current class location is, working

class or middle class. I could be regarded as being 'middle-class', given the qualifications I've attained, the control over my work and where I live. However, I do not identify with that class positioning in terms of my interests and my political involvements. Despite the class privileged position of being a professor, I am still a salaried employee, under intense pressures to accommodate to entrepreneurial university governance, neoliberal values and corporate culture (R8, July, 2014).

In the excerpt (Narrative 28), the informant describes his indignation and hurt at the reality of his lower status and power when part-time and no longer discipline leader.

Narrative 28: Richard - 'I am a bit further on the outer'

I was reflecting on my change in status of no longer being discipline leader and now being part-time, Monday, Wednesday and Fridays are now my formal work days. I find out, all of a sudden, the staff meeting day and time changes. There was no consultation about the change of day, and time of the staff meetings. Tuesdays is one of the days I have to leave at 3pm because I pick up my daughter from school. No one checks with me or tells me of the change in time of the staff meetings. I was a bit pissed off that no one even thought of me as a part-time worker who could not come to the meeting on that day...I know from anecdotal experience told to me by others that this happens for a lot of part-time people... Now in my transition to retirement, I have a different level of investment in the institutional machinery. I am a bit further on the outer and I experience a sense of marginalisation... (R6, September, 2013).

Here, the informant described his feelings of being marginalised after his change in status from being a full-time, professorial academic discipline leader, to becoming a part-time, older, professorial academic. The concepts of hegemonic, complicit, marginalised and subordinate masculinities outlined by Connell (1995) and Pease (2016), as introduced in Chapter 2, provide a framework for understanding the sense of marginalisation described by the professorial informant, being a 'bit further on the outer'. According to Connell (1995), there are normative ideas around which men are positioned, and position themselves in relation to other men, and to women, and also how women are positioned in relation to

men. These masculinities become embedded in people, organisational relations, and in institutions. Only a minority of men may be able to activate the full normative ideal of hegemonic masculinity where one way of being masculine is validated over all others. However, the ideal carries such weight to become a stereotype that requires other masculinities to position themselves in relation to it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) and against which everyone is measured (Lorde, 1999). In more recent research, the presence of competing forms of masculinity has been identified that arise from specific circumstances where there can be 'a struggle for hegemony, and older forms of masculinity might be displaced by new ones' (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p.833). As the informant ages, becomes a part-time worker and does not produce in the academic metrics most valued, he is less able to activate the code of the 'good social work academic'. His privilege accruing from white race is mediated by age, class and the discourse of the entrepreneurship.

CONCLUSION

Building on chapters 3 and 5, the analysis in this chapter continues to demonstrate how the 'good social work professor' is measured by degree of contribution to assisting RU to achieve the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan*. The data in this chapter reveals a complex interaction between oppression and domination as relations of class, and forms of valued masculinity amongst texts and narratives. I argue that there is a dominance in the texts of RU where the ideological code of the 'good social work professor' emphasises 'enterprise masculinity' and 'managerial masculinity'. This draws from the 'historical masculinisation of entrepreneurship' (Jones, 2014, p.237) and the underpinning of managerialism by a discursive masculinity (Alemán, 2014). This fits with Blackmore's (2014, p.95) assessment, that:

the architecture of transnational higher education is through its performative culture, producing an entrepreneurial masculinist leadership habitus that emerges from the dominance of men in normative science, in new management technologies, and as celebrity academics who are mobile, flexible, adaptable, not place-bound and unhindered by domestic connections, that is, 'transnational masculinities' (Connell, 2005).

This newer form of transnational, enterprise masculinity has not replaced, but rather incorporated aspects of the more traditional forms of 'academic masculinity' such as 'rationality, objectivity and efficiency'. This 'transnational, enterprise masculinity' is superficially described at RU as 'courageous, approachable, motivating, polished and slick'. Yet, as documented above, what is actually encouraged and rewarded (via funding, bonuses, praise, prizes, resources, employment conditions, workload etc.) is a culture of same-ness and compliance. Individuals who demonstrate loyalty to the corporate brand, who are 'care-less' (Grummell, Devine, & Lynch, 2009, p.192), who self-exploit and exploit others, are more likely to activate the code of the 'good social work academic' and in doing so become intellectually, culturally and socially similar. Others are excluded, disciplined and at times punished (via withholding of funding, bonuses, praise, prizes, resources, employment conditions, workload etc.) who do not fit or enact loyalty to the corporate norm in terms of values, behaviours, communication, leadership, scholarly and teaching approaches and practices.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE 'GOOD SOCIAL WORKER'¹

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I focus on social work as it happens in the interface between RU, the AASW and human service agencies that provide social student placements, to consider the construction of the 'good social worker'. I draw on my narratives as a social work lecturer of my work visiting human service agencies to provide liaison visits to conduct meetings between myself, the agency-based social work supervisors and social work students to provide insight into how this work is organised. Social work student informant narratives are also drawn on regarding her student placements in human service organisations to enable analysis of the texts that organised her experience. I argue that these texts embed ideological codes of the 'good social worker' as being a member of the AASW, supportive of the current emphasis in the AASW (2014b) *Strategic Plan 2014-17* to advance the 'professional project' of social work for registration and increased professional status, and supportive of AASW regulatory policies.

The ideological code of the 'good social work student' (previously explored in Chapter 4) is revisited in this chapter to show the additional shaping forces of organisational and institutional discourses that promote a racially, gendered and classed neutral 'good social worker' that masks the fact this is actually a neoliberal, white-Euro Australian, 'care-less' and middle-class figuration. In relation to this, this chapter also explores dissonance between the stated values and goals promoted by the AASW such as social activism to create a more just society and their actual work, and the reflection of this dissonance in the stated values of individual social work practitioners and their work (Healy, 2015). This was a particularly relevant time to investigate how texts interact to produce normalised positions establishing the 'good social worker'. During the latter period of this study the AASW renewed its campaign for registration (2013d; 2014a; 2015a) and reviewed (2015b) the *ASWEAS* (2012) that set out required principles, standards, graduate attributes and core content for accredited social work courses in Australia.

¹ Portions of this chapter have formed the basis of chapters written and published in the period of my candidature: (Hosken, 2013; Hosken, et al., 2016).
Appendices

In the first section of this chapter, I draw on informants' accounts and related texts to describe the regulatory regime of the AASW. This is followed by a discussion of a tension identified in the data between the 'professional project' and the 'social justice project' of Australian social work. Then, the power of AASW re-accreditations to standardise and discipline the work of social work students, social work lecturers, and social workers supervising student placements, is examined. The nature and scope for individual and organisational agency is then analysed. Finally, the implications of how AASW texts organise social justice and social injustice is analysed.

THE REGULATORY REGIME OF THE AASW

Social work courses at universities must meet the requirements of the AASW to gain and maintain accreditation. The regulatory documents of the AASW are a dominant influence on how university social work staff write field education manuals and construct the student placement learning and assessment processes. The AASW definition, purpose, value base, core curriculum, practice expectations, supervision requirements and some guidelines for assessment of student placements for social work are in different places, not necessarily aligned or coherent, across a range of documents. These texts include: the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics*; the sixteen online *Ethics and Practice Guidelines* (AASW, 2013); the *ASWEAS* (AASW, 2012) as revised in 2014; the *Practice Standards* (AASW, 2013a); specific *Practice Standards for School Social Workers* (AASW, 2008) and for *Mental Health Social Workers* (AASW, 2008) and *Supervision Standards* (AASW, 2014c). While western codes of ethics cite principles of social justice and equality, these are often tempered by other clauses such as those in Australia requiring social workers' loyalty to their employing organisations (Pease, 2013). As Williams and Briskman observe, 'Our professional norms favour amelioration, acquiescence and consensus' (2015, p.7).

As discussed in Chapter 2, universities offering social work courses in Australia are required to include content, principles, values and approaches across the curriculum as designated and defined by the AASW. Membership of the AASW is an employment credential where the AASW determines the eligibility of graduates for membership through assessment of social work programs.

The education of social workers must demonstrate commitment to the principles enshrined in the preamble and introduction to this document. They shape the ways in which the three core values of professional social work practice—respect, social justice and professional integrity—must be practised in social work education (AASW, 2012, p.10).

The AASW (2010, p.7) state that ‘principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work’. The required content areas include social work theory and practice subjects, mental health, child wellbeing and protection, cross-cultural practice, and practice with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities (AASW, 2012, p. 13). There is a history and contemporary context of significant debate and contestation nationally, and internationally, regarding the nature and purpose of social work, and how it should be organised (for example, Gray & Webb, 2008; Solas, 2008; Hugman, 2009; Walter, et al., 2011). This debate about the purpose and organisation of social work is reflected in the tension between what are called the professional and social justice projects of social work as discussed next.

TENSIONS BETWEEN THE ‘PROFESSIONAL PROJECT’ AND THE ‘SOCIAL JUSTICE PROJECT’ OF SOCIAL WORK

The background to the tension between the ‘professional’ and ‘social justice projects’ of social work was outlined in Chapter 2. The current President of the AASW, Karen Healy (2015, p.2) acknowledges tensions between the social justice project and the professional project in the Australian context, alerting to ‘continuing tensions that underpin how our profession expresses its mission, including its dual role in strengthening and representing the social work profession and in advocating for a more just and inclusive society’. One possible interpretation of this quote is that the ordering of the roles in the sentence, where representing the social work profession is listed before advocating for social justice, reflects these priorities in practice. This interpretation seems reasonable considering the same ordering of these roles, or in Olson’s (2007) terms projects, in the AASW’s (2016b) *Mission*

Statement, the AASW's (2016b) *Vision* and the AASW's (2016a) *Objectives* as displayed on their website.

Shurlee Swain's (2015) analysis of the Presidential addresses delivered at conferences of the AASW from 1969 to 2008 identifies the thematic link as 'their focus on defining and defending the status of social work as a profession'. In his social policy analysis of the same Presidential addresses, Philip Mendes (2015, p.2) drew on his earlier work (2003) to state 'the AASW historically had a strong commitment (at least in principle) to social action, but that in practice the branch had often failed to meet its stated objectives'. Interestingly, Healy (2015, p.5) comments on this section of Mendes's article to suggest 'one interpretation of Mendes' argument could be greater caution in the aspirations of the profession given the resource constraints and the changed environment in which our profession operates'. It may be that Healy is suggesting here, that the AASW reduce the number or strength of stated social justice goals as a way to lessen the discrepancy between the rhetoric of social justice and the degree of action or resources allocated to achieve it.

While recognising some periods of greater radicalism, social action and advocacy, some appraisals of the work and ideological orientation of the AASW indicate lengthier phases of conservatism, especially post the 1975 split between the AASW and the Australian Social Welfare Union (Mendes, 2005; Morley, Macfarlane, & Ablett, 2014b; Healy, 2015; Swain, 2015; Taylor, Vreugdenhil, & Schneiders, 2015). After the split, the Australian Social Welfare Union was left to pursue 'industrial and social action' (Morley et al. 2014, p.101) and the AASW is reported to have concentrated more on professional accreditation, education and the pursuit of professional legitimacy, such as the campaign for trademarks (AASW, 2016b) and registration (AASW, 2013).

There is a substantial literature that documents how often social work ideals are subsumed within organisational missions (for example, Hough & Briskman, 2003; Butler & Lymbery, 2004; Hosken, et al., 2016). Since 1975, some commentators note a recurrent domination of the mission of the AASW by 'establishment social work'. Establishment social work is seen as being underpinned by a liberal individualistic ideology involving a 'a conservative understanding of social work dominant in most welfare systems today, which

uncritically accepts existing social inequalities and helps people cope with the impact of injustices instead of challenging them' (Morley et al. 2014, p.2). The scholars in this section suggest there are two entwined trends within the AASW; a current apparent dominance of a liberal individualistic ideology, and the focus on the professional project.

During the latter period of this study, the AASW (2013; 2014; 2015a) renewed its campaign for registration and reviewed (2015b) the ASWEAS (2012) document that set out required principles, standards, graduate attributes, core content and requirements for field placements for accredited social work courses in Australia. These changes were contemporaneous with new reports of the poverty that many Australian social work students experience, particularly in relation to lengthy unpaid field placement requirements (Brough, et al., 2015b; AASW & JCU, 2016). The documented existence of poverty among social work students is an indication of the impact of intersections of race, gender and class relations and inequalities. The impact of AASW regulations as formed within, and perpetuating, social relations of inequality based on race, class and gender are explored in the analysis chapters of this thesis, Chapters 4-7. The works of the scholars in this section alert me to be aware in this current research of how the discourses of social justice and the professional project are experienced.

There are many kinds of nurturing, helping, care, policy and advocacy work provided by people, groups and communities that are not recognised as social work by the AASW as they represent the profession of social work in Australia (Healy & Lonne, 2010; Morley, et al., 2014a). The AASW allocates significant resources to the work for professional demarcation, recognition and registration (AASW, 2013c; AASW, 2014a; Morley, et al., 2014a, p.99; AASW, 2016a).

Social work associations, such as the AASW, have used the platform of preventing harm to the public to drive the campaign for registration (van Heugten, 2011). The AASW (2014a) has used evidence of the harm caused by social workers as a core campaign strategy as captured in the title of one of their key registration documents, *Evidence of Harm Caused by Social Workers: Australian and Overseas Examples* (AASW, 2014a). Registration for social workers was established in England in 2004, and mandatory registration with protection of

the social work title in 2005. The appropriateness of using the harm caused by social workers as the justification for their registration with the goal of strengthening confidence in the profession has been questioned (van Heugten, 2011). Some writers have argued there has been an opposite, and unintended, effect where social workers have been even more identified as posing risks to society. This risk 'via registration, is located in individual social workers, rather than in employing agencies for the state and its policies for the distribution of resources' (van Heugten, 2011, p.181). Other key benefits promoted as being attached to registration are raising the status of the occupation, improved respect, and occupational closure (van Heugten, 2011).

The AASW has significant power to set the priorities or agenda for social work in Australia via accreditation. This impacts all social workers, including the majority of social workers who are not members of the association. The power of accreditation is discussed in the next section.

THE POWER OF ACCREDITATION TO STANDARDISE AND DISCIPLINE

The requirement that universities delivering professional social work programs must meet accreditation, and re-accreditation, standards as set by the AASW (2012a; 2015c) was a major influence on how the lecturer informant understood and organised her work, as described in chapter 6. The following excerpt (Narrative 29) from the informant's journal is an example of the significant disciplinary control of AASW regulatory texts.

Narrative 29: Audre - 'I dislike having to include the AASW requirement'

As I near the end of the teaching year, I move into reviewing and updating the field education manuals for the Bachelor of Social Work and the Master of Social Work to make sure we cover all the AASW accreditation requirements. I loathe having to include the AASW requirement that placement students can have no leave of any kind included in their completion of their 500 hours of unpaid placement. If students need to take a day off placement because they are sick, must care for a sick child or family member, or must attend a funeral, they are required under this provision to

request the agency and the university to extend the placement to enable them to make that time up at the end of placement. I know this causes such difficulty and distress for students. In this placement round just finished, I had many phone calls from students asking what they can do as they had to take some leave but could not financially, or practically, afford to extend their placement.

Some of the student's agency-based social work field educators also rang me to ask if they could allow the students to have the leave needed without consequence. Some of these social work supervisors chose to take a risk and not record the absence on the log of hours so that the student is not penalised. They worried though if this would be picked up in liaison visits, or be reported to the AASW, so feel that this must be done in silent agreement with the student. Some students came in to see me and just looked exhausted, some cried with the frustration of trying to keep going, not understanding why they could not have a few days' sick leave included as an ordinary part of placement. Several of these students described how feelings of personal and cultural inadequacy were invoked by having to explain and request permission for absences from their placements, and then to request to extend placements to cover those absences.

Several students had taken a day off placement due to experiencing racism or ableism from workers at their placement agency, saying they needed time and distance to recover from the psychological hurt and to think through what they could do. They said they felt powerless, as they did not want to raise issues that may cause their supervisors to fail them on placement. The students from a range of non-White-Euro racial/cultural backgrounds suffer the most under this rule, as they have needed time away from placement due to cultural requirements associated with bereavement, mourning, birth, or participation in decision-making forums within their family and community structures. Often these students also have more people reliant on them financially, practically and emotionally, in Australia, or in their countries of origin, the diaspora or in refugee camps. Several black students have described how hard it is for them to navigate their placements in organisations that

are mainly white. Some refugee background students also described not ever having worked in office environments, being unsure how to behave and what to do.

Many students take time off paid work to undertake the unpaid placement, or work in paid jobs on the weekend after their five days of unpaid placement. Extending placement for leave places even more financial and emotional pressure on them. Students have said they have not paid bills to have enough money to travel to placement. Listening to students describe having to go without many basic things and the sacrifices they must make to undertake placement has informed my thinking about the 'structural violence of poverty' for my chapter in the *Doing Critical Social Book*. In conversations with these students and field educators, I actively drew on my understanding of, and commitment to, critical social work to define problems in ideologies, policy and practices first, rather than in individuals. I used witnessing, ethical listening, mutual consciousness-raising, acknowledging, validating, resisting, universalising, individualising, and critical reframing of experiences, drawing on feminist, decolonisation and anti-colonial theories and approaches. Several students and field educators said their feelings of hurt, inadequacy and frustration lessened after these discussions. I do not understand why students do not get at least similar leave provisions to paid workers with three- days leave allowed. For some students, I have used my own judgment where compliance with the AASW regulations appears to breach aspects of state and federal discrimination laws. If this is questioned in any re-accreditation, I feel it could be justified on these grounds. I am not sure if my university managers would support this action. It is not the case that the AASW remains unaware of the impact of these regulations, as the impacts were detailed in a submission to the review of the ASWEAS. I wish the AASW would stop putting so much energy and resources into the push for registration and concentrate more on making sure their own regulations and policies are socially just (N5.5 October 2014).

The journal excerpt above illustrates how the AASW regulatory requirements produced major, and conflicting, influences in co-ordinating how the informant, social work students on placement, and their agency -based social work field educators, understood and organised their work. These requirements, as referred to Narrative 28, included that

universities delivering professional social work programs must meet the AASW's (2012a) reaccreditation processes (2012a; 2016c); the AASW (2012) *ASWEAS* and comply with the *ASWEAS 2012: Guidance on field education programs* (2012b). The narrative revealed the work of the informant, social work students and agency-based social workers to navigate compliance with these regulations, the AASW (2014c) *Supervision Standards* and the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics*. The work to navigate the AASW (2012b) *ASWEAS Guideline 1.2.3* is described in some detail; this guideline requires that:

Students must successfully complete a minimum of 1,000 hours in at least two field education subjects. These hours must be completed within the normal working hours / days of the organisation hosting the placement. No leave of any kind may be included in this requirement (AASW, 2012, p.3).

The additional work activated from the informant, students and field educators is an example of the significant disciplinary control of the AASW regulatory texts, even when sections of the regulations are perceived, or felt, as discriminatory or unjust. In Narrative 28, the informant and agency-based field educators are described as having to use judgement to create discretion drawing from their own perceptions of the core values of social work to circumvent the AASW regulations they perceived as causing injustice and distress for students. They knowingly taking a risk, hoping their non-compliance would not be detected, or if detected, that they would be able to justify their action if the issue is raised in re-accreditation, supervision, assessment or liaison. The ability of individuals and organisational leaders to enact agency in responding to the standardising and disciplining discourses of neoliberalism and neoliberal managerialism is explored in the next section.

INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANISATIONAL AGENCY

The lecturer informant expresses frustration in Narrative 13 (Chapter 5) and in Narrative 29 above, at the perceived disconnect between the AASW's stated commitment to social justice and the AASW's regulations and policies that she observes activating injustice. In Narrative 13, the informant identified a perceived lack of transparency in the reasons and thinking behind the positions taken by the AASW to prioritise the professional project over social justice. This raises questions as to how much agency the informants, or the leadership

of the AASW and the RU have, to resist, challenge or change the policy and regulatory settings and discourses of the organisations they are reliant on for credentialing, employment, accreditation, regulation, funding or favour.

The question of the degree to which people, groups or leadership of organisations have 'agency' to act purposefully and independently, and the degree to which their actions are shaped and constrained by social structures has been of enduring concern to social workers, social work educators and social work service users (Deacon, 2004). Agency and structure are also important considerations in exploring what sort of social justice is appropriate for social work. Agency is defined in the social work context as 'the capacity of individuals to take action in order to make things happen' (Baines, 2011, p.97) and structure as 'the socioeconomic systems that govern people's lives' (Baines, 2011, p.68). The relationships between individual or group agency and institutional structures are complex, and Narratives including numbers 4, 11, 13, 16, 18, 22, and 29 in this thesis, indicate how agency itself as an idea or practice is shaped within relations of race, gender and class. Interrogating the concept and practice of agency is important, as agency is often constructed in dominant narratives of social work and education as being, primarily, a result of individual 'hard work'. There is an assumption of the neutrality of agency and meritocracy within this dominant narrative. The narratives in this study challenge the neutral view of agency and meritocracy showing how race, gender and class shape social relations such that some groups of social work students and social work educators must work harder than others to achieve the same or similar outcomes of perceived success.

In Narrative 4 (Chapter 4), the student informant described how her agency was often shaped through relations of race as a black student in the white majority university where she used silence as agency in choosing to not be perceived as causing trouble in a conversation with a white-Euro female lecturer. Agency was also demonstrated as shaped with raced relations by the student informant in not enacting the advice from the white-Euro 'university study help person' that the student informant found culturally inappropriate. Agency as shaped with relation of race and gender, is apparent when the student informant continues entering and sitting in classrooms, despite feeling scared (Narrative 5, Chapter 4) and often the only black person in the room. In the social work

placement context, the student informant exercised agency informed within relations of race in not imposing the parts of the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* that she determined were culturally inappropriate in her work with South Sudanese and other non-white-Euro people and families.

The lecturer informant describes exercising some agency in Narrative 29, using her judgement shaped within gender and class to take a risk in enabling students to have sick/personal/cultural leave while on placement without having to make this time up at the end of placement. Agency is also present in Narrative 13 (Chapter 5), where the lecturer informant hoped to appropriate the rewards and protections afforded by strategic compliance with the metrics of the 'good academic' to afford room for covert social justice work. The data in Narrative 13 (Chapter 5) indicates that, at times, the informant was able to use discretion to implement her own 'strategic plan'. This involved creating microcosms of what she perceived as a pedagogy of social work education about social justice for social justice where she met with individual students and small groups of students to engage in mutual mentoring. The lecturer informant also raised issues directly in a variety of forums about the needs of students and staff. The informant was aware that her status as a white, middle-aged, lecturer out of the probation period, enabled her to speak directly at times.

The professor informant in Narrative 22 (Chapter 6) identified his working-class background as influencing his agency in speaking directly and frankly to managers and in taking an advocate position on behalf of staff. The informant is aware that his position in the professorial ranks with an established career lessened the pressure on him to 'conform to managerialist prerogatives' (Chapter 6, Narrative 24). The degree that the professor informant's sense of agency to advocate or challenge also derived from being a white-Euro male (in a senior position) in a predominately white organisation, was difficult to discern.

These accounts of agency from the three informants, demonstrate different behaviours or actions that can be considered agentic. The white-Euro Australian lecturer and professor informants' use of agency in actions including advocacy, speaking directly about issues, use of discretion, involvement in the union and strike action, creating alliances, is more recognisable within western social work literature, particularly in critical social work.

The use of silence, however, is not traditionally considered as agency or a method of protest in western social work literature. The South Sudanese Australian student informant's purposeful use of silence and non-enactment of advice and non-enactment of parts of the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* was activated in reference to her wanting to maintain her cultural values and practices, despite pressure activated from texts of the RU and the AASW to discount them. In this context, this demonstration of agency can be recognised as a powerful mechanism of survival, cultural continuance and of protest.

I consider that each action or expression of agency exercised by informants is important. However, despite significant dissatisfaction expressed by informants regarding RU and AASW organisational policies, these agentic actions did not change these policies, but rather at times appropriated or circumvented them. The agency of informants was inspired by their loyalties to their perceived membership of discriminated against groups, and aimed to nurture or protect the efforts, possibilities and sustainability of these groups of people. This sort of agency regarding opportunities to control or change things might be understood as 'agency within structure' (Orton, 2009, p.496) as 'generally, constrained or enabled within people or groups' positions in the relations of structural inequality.

ASWEAS Guideline 1.2.3 is described in Narrative 29 above, as producing disproportionate negative impacts on those students who are least able to activate the ideological code of the 'good social work student', those who are not 'young, Anglo, unencumbered, and financially supported by parents' (Hosken, 2013, p.96). The students from a range of non-white-Euro cultural backgrounds are described in the excerpt as experiencing greater disadvantage under the 'no leave of any kind' rule than students more able to activate the ideological code of the 'good social work student'. Those students from a minority-culture background explained to the informant that absences from placement were needed due to cultural requirements associated with birth, bereavement, mourning, or participation in decision-making forums within interdependent family and community structures. Some of these minority-culture backgrounds students talked about the additional burdens that arise when white-Euro cultural norms (embedded in AASW regulations) conflicted with their own cultural requirements. In other situations, experiences of racial micro-aggressions and racism (Szoke, 2012), ableism often combined

with poverty (Brough, Correa-Velez, Crane, Johnstone, & Marston, 2015a) to create extra physical, emotional and financial work, and stress, when undertaking placement. The understanding described by the informant, social work students and social work field educators in the narrative of this guideline producing discriminatory effects is consistent with the Australian Human Rights Commission's (2000) view that policies and practices can be discriminatory with, or without, intent being present on behalf of those designing them to be so. The measure is if these practices have 'an unequal effect on the rights and freedoms of the individual or group involved' (HREOC, 2000 in Hosken, 2013, p.95).

Enforcing individualism and eroding capacities for collectivism, which is one of *ASWEAS Guideline 1.2.3* unintended outcomes, is one way that the ASWEAS promotes neoliberalism and western cultural values and practices. This constrains the potential for the anti-racist and culturally inclusive practice that the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* states it requires of social workers. Similarly, decisions by the AASW (2013d, 2016a) to concentrate on registration, trademarks and the 'professional project' (Olsen, 2007) that seek to elevate the standing of the profession, while understandable on some levels, also dovetail with neoliberal concerns that prioritise self-interest. Not just 'one discourse among many', neoliberalism is identified as a 'strong discourse' that has the goal of individualism through eradication of collectivism at its core (Bourdieu, 1998).

The impacts of the ASWEAS (2012b) *Guideline 1.2.3*, as discussed above, appear to both contradict, and invite action regarding, the AASW's (2010, p.32) requirement in their *Code of Ethics* to eliminate violations of human rights, to 'challenge, and/or report . . . policies, procedures, practices and service provisions which: are not in the best interests of clients . . . are in any way oppressive, disempowering or culturally inappropriate . . .'. The AASW does not represent all social workers, having a membership of some 10 000 (AASW, 2016), comprising less than half of the qualified social workers in Australia. This raises important questions regarding how social workers who are concerned, or disagree with, regulations and policies can challenge the AASW, and where social workers can report the AASW to, if they are not responsive. In the next section, the ways that AASW texts organise and activate injustice is examined.

LEARNING HOW TEXTS ORGANISE SOCIAL INJUSTICE

In the following excerpt (Narrative 30), the social work lecturer informant describes a liaison visit to a social work student, and the student's agency-based social work supervisor, usually called a field educator in Australia, during the student's placement at a human service organisation. The role of a university liaison visit is to ensure a learning plan has been completed that provides sufficient opportunity for the student to learn and demonstrate their capability across the domains of the AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards*. The excerpt from a research diary, written as a composite of several liaison visits, highlights the interface between regulatory documents and human service organisations, and their shaping within the ideological discourse of neoliberalism, enacted in the AASW, university and placement agency institutional discourses of new public management, professionalism, competence, individualism, self-management and self-determination.

Narrative 30: Audre - 'Fragmented standards and endless indicators'

Running late, I grab my liaison pack with the RU Social Work Field Education Manual, the AASW Code of Ethics, and pop in the student's learning plan. Between the jerks of station stops, reading the student's learning plan, while making notes of points to discuss, I am struck by the realisation that, again, many students are interpreting the learning plan in a technicist manner. Is the learning plan itself inviting this response? Where is the inspiration, the sense of social justice purpose, the requirement for students to learn and practise critical social work among these fragmented standards and endless indicators?

Absorbing this reflection, I prepare to go in to the liaison, intending to create a space for critical social work informed reflection. I imagine meeting the student and field educator in the organisation with the aim to cohere threads of the manual, learning plan, the AASW Code of Ethics, AASW Practice Standards and indicators—using artistry to make a holistic and meaningful learning experience out of siloed columns and clauses, decoupled from context. I observe the whiteness of the agency staffing, as they sit in open plan offices in teams, but am told by the white supervisor they have many 'ethnic' and some Aboriginal clients.

I then hear about the most recent restructuring of this agency to accommodate the reduced funding from government and to incorporate a newly government funded program that reduces the length of time allowed for most client involvement and cuts services and resources allowed to be offered to those clients. The white student and white field educator explain to me how the government funding requires them implementing a policy, screening assessment and planning tool that requires social workers to assist clients to become 'self-managing' and for workers to better integrate service provision. There is in no new money to support this program. When I suggest this goal of clients becoming 'self-managing' must be difficult in the context of high unemployment, reduced social supports and less resources available to help clients, both the student and the field educator seem perplexed or, perhaps, defensive.

The student shows and explains the various intake, assessment and planning documents. I see that our university learning plan is similar in style, another tick-the-box template form, divorced from what it is meant to represent, familiar in the everyday life of social workers here; our competency-based learning plan with rating scales is perfectly compatible with, and contextualised to, risk-averse, time and resource poor, predefined outcome-focused, organisations.

I gently explore with the student and supervisor some changes to the learning plan that could enable the student to undertake tasks to learn and demonstrate competence in the AASW Practice Standard One, which was seemingly missed: 'works to eliminate all violations of human rights; identifies social systems and structures that preserve inequalities . . . and advocates for change; challenges policies and practices that are oppressive and fail to meet international standards of human rights' (AASW, 2013, p.9). The field educator looks at me and says quietly, 'You know of course there is no way that we can actually do these things like challenge policies and practices. If we did, that would become our whole job. I can try to create an understanding with the student of how they might do it, but we can't actually do it' (N5.3a, August, 2014).

This narrative reveals how government funding and policy restructure the non-government placement agency who experience cuts in their government funding, and the implementation of new policy and practice approaches that attach to the receipt of government funding. Government-led, neoliberal-informed values and business management practices are a major influence on the placement organisation and the work of the social work student and social work field educator as described above. An example of neoliberal values embedded in agency policy and practice is the goal of client 'self-management'. Self-management and self-responsibilisation are popular in neo-liberal, New Public Management (NPM) inspired government policy. The processes of NPM are summarised by Chris Lorenz (2012, p.608) as follows:

(1) increasing the breakup of public sector organizations into separately managed units, (2) increasing competition to use management techniques from the private sector, (3) increasing emphasis on discipline and sparing use of resources, (4) more hands-on management, (5) introduction of measurable indicators of performance, and (6) use of predetermined standards to measure output.

NPM involves governments, business and organisations adopting the discourses and practices of managerialism and privatisation, using accountability performance targets and outcome measures to reduce perceived duplication and waste thus improving efficiency (Baines, 2011). Like others, Australian governments have implemented NPM into funding of human services, Indigenous Affairs, income support, unemployment, penal, immigration, welfare, utilities, transport and education sectors by introducing contestability and the incorporation of private agencies and business management practices into the delivery of services (Lea, 2008b; Considine, et al., 2014). Australian governments have used competitive tendering, performance-based funding and contracting for the provision of statutory and community services. This is justified on the basis of stated gains to be made by competition producing greater efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness. The state remains in charge of public policy and funding, yet increasingly service provision is by non-state entities (Butcher & Dalton, 2014).

Workers in organisations reliant for funding on governments implementing NPM are cyclically prepared and monitored via quality assurance audits and performance appraisals to produce bodies of evidence demonstrating maximum efficiencies against organisational strategic plans (Hill, 2012; Woolford & Curran, 2013; Katz, 2014). These plans are carefully aligned to government controlled performance-based funding with defined outputs consistent with their neo-liberal ideological orientations. This marketisation occurs within oddly mutated versions of consumerist, individual rights and self-management rhetoric in education and human service delivery often enacted or justified via evidence-based practice (EBP). It is the ability to evidence progress against these output-based strategic plans that earns political, economic, organisational and individual rewards rather than actually fixing or changing the issues that were their catalyst (Lea, 2008b). New social work graduates report the language, discourse and practices of social justice, anti-oppressive practice, and critical social work are not able to compete with neo-liberal oriented managerial dispositions (Agllias, 2010; Woolford & Curran, 2013).

The informant's description in Narrative 30 above, illustrates how social work practitioners and social work students may not feel obliged by the AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards* to do more than understand how social injustice might happen. This lack of action to address social injustice may be traced to the mix of statements of support for social justice and human rights where these are prominent in the AASW definition of social work, and in the preambles to the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* and the AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards*, but lack a practical enactment focus in the body of the *Standards*, their attached indicators, or in the regulatory policies and practices of the AASW itself.

The AASW is a member of the three-international social work professional organisations founded in 1928 that claim to represent social work globally. As outlined by these organisations in a jointly authored document (IFSW, IASSW & ICSW, 2012), the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) is said to represent social work practice, social work education by the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and social development by the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW). According to representatives of the IFSW, David Jones and Rory Truett (2012), each of these organisations seeks to influence, and has formal consultative status with the United Nations and other key

global bodies including the: Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations; United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); World Health Organization (WHO); Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). The three international social work organisations (IFSW, IASSW & ICSW, 2012) agreed to a set of objectives to 'meet our joint aspirations for social justice and social development' detailed in a document called *The Global Agenda for Social Work and Social Development: Commitments to Action*.

The AASW (2013a, p.4) state their alignment to, and regulation by, the IFSW and the IASSW, 'The social work profession in Australia adheres to the following draft definition of social work jointly endorsed by the International Federation of Social Workers and International Association of School of Social Work'. The draft definition reads as follows:

The social work profession facilitates social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledges, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing (AASW, 2013a, p.4).

In line with the IFSW and the IASSW, the AASW identify social justice a central principle in this definition of social work and highlight social justice as one of three core values of social work to 'underpin and inform the [AASW] practice standards' (2013a, p.7). Despite this prominence in the definition and AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards*, data in this study, such as the narratives in this chapter, expose concerns that the actual practice of social justice by social work students, social work supervisors and social work liaison officers may not be activated by the *Standards* and indicators. The narratives reveal that the AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards* do not require social justice to be present in a coherent, holistic and contextualised manner in the RU (PRU61) *Social Work Field Education Manual*. The language used in most of the AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards* only requires that students and social workers demonstrate an 'understanding of' what is defined in the standards. This enables social work students, their supervisors and university liaison officers to be satisfied with

understanding, rather than enacting, social justice work. This leads to the disjuncture between those AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards* requiring students (and practitioners) to do social justice, human rights, and critical social work and its lack of consistent implementation by social workers in education and human service organisations.

In the following excerpt (Narrative 31), the student informant discusses some of the tensions experienced on her final social work placement due to conflict between the western values embedded in the AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards*, the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* and the RU (PRU61) *Social Work Field Education Manual* and her own South Sudanese cultural values.

Narrative 31: Denalh - 'The community is first, not me, it is us'

My first placement was community development where I spent much of my time at the organisations I knew like the neighbourhood house. In my final placement, I have had to work hard to understand how things are done in offices. I have no experience of offices except as a refugee background person settling in Australia. On placement, I must achieve a rating of 'capable' which means I must show I can perform my work independently of others. I do not understand this as all the other workers at the placement agency seem to seek advice from others. Why is it different for a student? Also in my culture, it would not be right to work independently, as all decisions are made with others to make sure everything fits together, for all of us, not just for one person. In social work with South Sudanese we bring culture first, we do not bring the individual first. So, working independently does not seem right. Just making decisions on your own would be a sign of immaturity or lack of care for us. The community is first, not me, it is us.

Most of the theories that we must demonstrate as the AASW practice standards require, relate more to white people. The theory is about who you are now, not the whole thing, just focuses on the individual right now. People from South Sudan look at the whole community, everyone, we must fit together and fix things for all of us, not just for me. With an Anglo person, I would just look at this person before me now. I would not say to a South Sudanese person in Australia to

just think about themselves, as that would be taking them out of their family, their community, it would be putting them against family, community and culture. Also, many Sudanese people will expect professionals like social workers to make decisions on their behalf, as they have the education and expertise. They will get frustrated if professionals do not make decisions or make things happen. In this way, the AASW Code of Ethics with its focus on client self-determination and autonomy does not take account of non-western people like us who are more community oriented. For Anglo people, it is alright for people to be an individual, you can say to think about themselves, you can say it is all about you...If the South Sudanese Australian did say they wanted to do something against the family, as a social worker, I would work with them for their own opinion, but without pushing too far. I also find the AASW Code of Ethics rules about boundaries confusing for us. As we are a small community it is usually impossible for South Sudanese to not be a social worker with other Sudanese who are family or friends or that you see in many different contexts (D18, September, 2014).

Social work decision making in Australia is required by the AASW to be based on ethical principles and responsibilities to clients including self-determination, autonomy and confidentiality (AASW, 2010, pp.25-27). Denalh's description of the tensions experienced during her placement in Narrative 30, illustrates how these ethical principles reflect the atomised, independent, disjoint models of agency associated with modern western cultures (Turner & Fozdar, 2010b) such as white-Euro Australians, and do not accommodate the communal, non- western orientation of Denalh's South Sudanese cultural and epistemological understandings, values and ethical obligations.

The AASW's statement that the social work profession has an 'equal commitment' to working across personal, cultural and political domains to 'support personal and social wellbeing' and to 'achieve human rights and social justice through . . . social and systemic change . . . ' (AASW, 2010, p. 7, section 1.2) is an example of a stated commitment that appears to balance working to support people with structural change towards creating a more equal society that is consistent with the vision of social justice and critical social work.

Dissonance is present, however, within and between, the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* and the AASW (2013a) *Practice Standards*. The assertion that social work is, or should be, underpinned by social justice and human rights principles (AASW, 2010, p.7) and works to eliminate all violations of human rights can easily contrast with aspects of the *Code of Ethics* that guide social workers in ethical practice and decision-making. For instance, where tension exists between 'observing the Code of Ethics and complying with legal or organisation requirements' social workers are instructed by the *Code of Ethics* to 'act in accordance with the law and with organisational directives' (AASW, 2010, p.14). This contradiction is identified in Narrative 29 as excusing social workers from the requirement to work to eliminate violations of human rights, to 'challenge, and/or report . . . policies, procedures, practices and service provisions which: are not in the best interests of clients . . . are in any way oppressive, disempowering or culturally inappropriate' (AASW, 2010, p. 32). Informant accounts indicate aspects of the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics*, (2012) *ASWEAS* and the (2013a) *Practice Standards* as being 'oppressive, disempowering [and]...culturally inappropriate'.

The AASW policies were developed and amended at different times in response to varying social, political, economic and professional contexts, under different leadership at the national president and board levels, often comprising contested views (for example, Groner, 2012). As such, the suite of policy and regulatory documents represent disparate motivations and have conflicting outcomes. One outcome serves to protect a traditional view of social work and social work education that advantages social work courses, and social work students, at the more traditional, elite universities. This is illustrated in a report from the AASW (2017) National Director and Chair of the *ASWEAS 2016 Review* that advocates the need to:

maintain, and where possible increase the current requirements for staffing rations and face-to-face teaching. They [key stakeholders] argued the need for a strong emphasis in face-to-face teaching on universal practice skills and asserted the need for entry-level professionals to have a robust professional identity and significant interpersonal skills, and the significant role that field education plays in achieving

these. In particular, stakeholders argued strongly for better preparation of students prior to their first placement.

A desktop analysis of the publicly available submissions (AASW, 2016d) to the AASW *ASWEAS 2016 Review* also indicates a possible alignment between the more elite, traditional universities protectionist endorsement of campus attendance requirements and the non-elite, newer universities questioning of the social justice and equity implications of compulsory attendance for diverse students.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have continued to interrogate organisational, institutional and ideological discourses embedded in the texts of the university and the AASW that coordinate and activate the work of the social work student and academic informants. This chapter focused on data regarding the day-to-day work of social work students, social work academics and social workers as they interacted around social work field placements to reveal how the organising texts interact to 'produce invisible normalisations and their inherent hierarchies and power relations' (Fahlgren & Sawyer, 2011, p.535).

Documentation and analysis revealed that key AASW texts, including the (2012) *ASWEAS* and the (2010) *Code of Ethics*, regulate and coordinate the work of social work educators, social work students and social work field educators. These texts embed ideological codes that in promoting a racially, gendered and classed neutral 'good social worker', masks the fact this is actually a white-Euro Australian, non-caring, middle-class figuration. Organisational discourses interpret and reflect institutional discourses, and are the shared and standardised frameworks that design and organise the 'categories, concepts and frames' (Smith, 2005, p.118) into texts that coordinate and regulate the work of people in that institution so they are accountable to those categories, concepts and frames. The analysis in this chapter demonstrated that the key texts that organised the work of students, lecturers and social workers were imbued with organisational discourses of corporate-business, professionalism, credibility, competency, self-management, and individualism. Applying Webb's (2017) and Olson's (2007) analyses of the tensions between the professional project and the social justice project of social work, as discussed in Chapter 2,

reveals how the 'professionalism' discourse, as embedded in texts discussed in this Chapter (Chapter 7), manages and disciplines social work students, social work academics and social workers. This disciplining is achieved through encouragement and regulation of the development of self-images, professional identities (Webb, 2017) that are more congruent with the dominant discourses of the 'professional project' (Olson, 2007) rather than the social justice of equity, equality of opportunity and outcome, and of decolonising Australian social work education and practice (Briskman, 2007; Green & Baldry, 2008; Baltra-Ulloa, 2014). The focus on the 'professional project' is illustrative of what American based academics, Schram & Silverman (2011), describe in their paper titled *The End of Social Work: The Neoliberalization of Doing Good*. Drawing on case studies, they describe the end of one era of social work that prioritised social justice, focused on empowerment, and alongside short-term individual work with services users, was also committed to working for long-term change to create a more socially just society. Schram & Silverman (2011, p.2) argue this has been replaced by 'neoliberal social work' underpinned by a business model that accepts the role of focusing solely on the short-term to discipline clients to change their behaviour to fit into the existing society, rather than working to restructure society.

Analysis of the data in this chapter has demonstrated how the textual regulation of social work reflects, creates and perpetuates 'neoliberal social work' (Schram & Silverman 2011, p.2). The AASW (2012) created and regulates how social work courses evidence graduate attributes. RU (PRU14) adopted and regulates how all courses evidence Graduate Learning Outcomes. Both the AASW (2017) and RU (PRU29; GradStats, 2017) afford high priority to employers as stakeholders. This is an example of an AASW and RU alignment that contributes to the 'vocationalisation' of the curriculum to maximise the employability of graduates (Hanesworth, 2017, p.50). In the face of increasing student loan debt, students also seek more practical vocationally oriented courses that will maximise their employment outcomes (Crowe & Hare, 2017). Employers (human service organisations) seek graduates and employees that are job-ready. Being job-ready in the contemporary workfare state that operationalises neoliberalism through NPM involves employees, students and graduates having the attitude and skills to help teams and organisations achieve the quantitative targets contained in funding agreements. These targets are best attained through evidence based practice (EBP) focused interventions that highlight enhancing the self-management of

service users at the expense of confronting the systems that created the need for the interventions.

Ideological discourses are meta-discourses that operate at a higher level to control institutional and other discourses. The analysis in this chapter developed from Chapter 4, to demonstrate how the AASW responded to the funding, resource and regulatory power of higher level national organisations, such as the Board of the National Alliance for Self-Regulating Health Profession (discussed in Chapter 5), the Australian Federal Government, and international organisations such as the IFSW, IASSW, and the ICSW who in turn seek to influence higher level international organisations including the United Nations and key global bodies such as the OECD, ECOSOC, UNICEF, WHO, UNHCR and OHCHR. These bodies are saturated with ideological discourses of neoliberalism, white supremacy and patriarchy. The next, and final, chapter will conclude the research.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis aimed to explore the disjunctures between stated commitments to social justice by the AASW, and to social justice, equity and diversity by RU, and the actual inequalities that persist in Australian social work education, as experienced by informants. This was approached using the feminist, sociological method of institutional ethnography (Smith, 2005), commencing from an exploration of the day-to-day work of three key informants, a social work student, a social work lecturer, and a social work professor. Data was collected over five-years, as they studied and worked at universities, and in human service organisations (HSO's) that provide social work placements for students. The first level of data, including observations, mutual ethnographic interviews, an autoethnographic journal and a research diary were analysed to locate the policy and regulatory texts that organised, activated and coordinated the work of informants and others in RU, the AASW and HSO's. Using text and intertextuality analysis (Smith, 2005), informant narratives and this second level of data, the coordinating texts, were then analysed to identify where ideological codes and discourses were embedded in the texts that served to activate 'ruling relations' (Smith, 2005).

As a conclusion to this thesis, I consider how the various chapters contribute to the research aims in addressing the research questions and premises. I identify contributions made by the research, situating this in terms of the rationale of an institutional ethnographic study. I suggest the project increases available knowledge for Australian social workers about how social injustice is organised to happen in the ways it does in organisations. Further, I suggest that this thesis offers a framework for a feminist, decolonising, anti-racist, critical organisational and institutional analysis for social work.

CHAPTER CONTRIBUTIONS TO ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Each chapter of this thesis has contributed to the aim of exploring where and how the social and ruling relations of privilege and oppression were present in the university and the

AASW. Overall, the first two chapters of the thesis established relevant history, and the context and scope of the research, as well as introducing the key conceptual frameworks. Drawing from relevant literature located the AASW and RU as having developed within the Australian settler colonial context to be 'predominantly white' (Gusa, 2010) and complex organisations with enduring 'inequality regimes' (Acker, 2006b, p.443) organised by classed, patriarchal, colonialist relations. The argument for the methodology adopted, and outline of the ethical framework, was provided in Chapter 3. In chapters 4 and 7, the work of the social work student informant in the university, and on placement at a human service organisation is explicated. Chapters 5 and 6 detailed what the work involved of being a social work lecturer and a social work professor that, in combination, outlined the work of a social work academic. Chapter 7 explored the work of social work students, social work academics and social workers, as they interacted at human service organisations that provide placements for social work students. More specifically, different sections of the thesis advanced the research aims in ways as discussed below.

ORGANISATIONAL WORK TO CONSTRUCT NEOLIBERAL CREDIBILITY AND PERFORMATIVITY

Invisibilised and unpaid work

Informant narratives in this study revealed that certain activities of social work academics, social work students and social work practitioners are recognised as work, and some activities are not. Regulatory frames contained in official policy texts, such as the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan*, RU (PRU59) *Faculty Academic Work Allocation Model* and the AASW (2012) *ASWEAS*, 'control facticity' (Smith, 2005 p.191) to render invisible, or not recognisable, much of the work that informants do 'to do the work'.

The thesis documents the previously invisibilised extra work the South Sudanese Australian social work student informant had to perform to meet the specifications set by a mainly white-Euro settler social work professional body, the AASW (2012) in the *ASWEAS*. The embedding of white, middle-classed, meritocratic, individualism and professional values, discourses and practices in the regulatory texts of the AASW created cultural misrecognition for the non-white student due to her racial, gender and class statuses. This required the informant to work harder than others to achieve the same or similar results.

This thesis also documented the unpaid work undertaken by the social work lecturer and professor informants. This is consistent with research from the National Tertiary Education Union (Rea, 2016) of the 'unpaid work undertaken by university staff in Australia represent[ing] a donation of about 16, 000 full-time jobs or about 1.7 billion in unpaid labour'.

From the relational perspective of class (Prins et al., 2015, p.1354), I suggest this invisibilised and unpaid work is part of the neoliberal process. Senior management of RU and the AASW have been documented in this thesis as controlling the productive resources of higher education and professional social work by excluding access to those not able to activate the ideological codes of the 'good social work student', the 'good social work lecturer', the 'good social work professor' and the 'good social worker' from access to those resources. This is achieved through the RU and ASSW use of strategic plans to set the goals of the organisations to reflect the policy priorities of higher-level government and transnational entities. RU and the AASW use quality assurance regimes in regulations and policies, and strategic plans, to control (dominate) the work of social work students, social work academics and social workers. RU and the AASW are then able to appropriate the products of that invisibilised and unpaid work (exploitation). In the next sections, I elaborate on how the use of ideological codes facilitates neoliberal processes of domination and exploitation.

The 'good social work student'

The narratives of the social work student informant in Chapters 4 and 7, described how her membership of groups subordinated due to racialised, gendered and classed relations was a source of oppression and discrimination, but also of knowledge, strength and motivation. The narratives provided detail regarding the work involved for a mature-aged, South Sudanese Australian, mother, to study social work at a predominantly white university campus. This required the informant to demonstrate competences and ethics on placement as set by a mainly white social work professional body, the AASW. Analysis of both the narratives, and the texts referred to in the narratives as organising the work of the

informant as a student, revealed an ideological code of the 'good social work student', that the informant was often unable to activate.

The 'good social work student' was found to be a person unlikely to experience circumstances happening outside of their control. This was more likely to be an individual who was 'care-less', with no caring responsibilities and without cultural obligations to self and extended family or community. The good social work student was also more likely to be 'middle-class' with sufficient access to resources and income to undertake the two lengthy unpaid placements, and also with the cultural capital fit into the predominately white placement organisations. In addition, the good social work student needed a mental and physical health state that is in synch with resourced and dominant white-Euro settler understandings of mental health (Jakubec, 2009) and health (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2015), not requiring individual medical or other treatment, or the time involved in seeking or dealing with such. Based on the data and analysis, I argued the characteristics describing the ideological code of the 'good social work student' were more likely to be activated by a white 'neoliberal responsibilised self' (Lund, 2015, p.164), the 'responsible, entrepreneurial and financially independent [self]...central to neoliberalism' (Garrett, et al., 2016, p.x).

The whiteness of RU and the AASW required the student informant to work harder to achieve the same or similar results as white-Euro middle-classed, able-bodied, Australian background students without dependants. However, the student could draw from multiple knowledges (Harris, et al., 2015) to navigate her own construction of what being a social worker might mean in both 'white Australia' and in the South Sudanese Australian and other non-white contexts. However, efforts to activate the ideological codes of the 'good social work student' within the white, middle-classed, meritocratic, individualism and professional discourses, also served to disenfranchise informant's experiences of symbolic, and at times material, violence of cultural misrecognition due to her racial, gender and class statuses. Analysis of the texts identified from student informant narratives revealed institutional discourses of self-control, self-management, independence, flexibility, excellence and merit and ideological discourses of whiteness and neoliberal economic, political and cultural values and practices. The documentation mounted the argument that the focus of the RU

and the AASW on explicit curriculum, diversity management and quality assurance, form a surface level of engagement with equality, social justice, equity and inclusion.

The 'good social work lecturer'

In Chapter 5, the social work lecturer informant described how being a female, low status junior academic without a PhD, with caring responsibilities and caring work, restricted the capacity to be a 'good social work lecturer'. The 'good social work lecturer' was shown to be one who can contribute to the goals of excellence set out in the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* and of the 'professional project' set out in the AASW (2014a) *Strategic Plan 2014-17*. The 'good social work lecturer' was one that could activate the desired qualities identified in the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan* of being an entrepreneurial, mobile, flexible, innovative, researcher, and in the AASW Strategic plan of being 'a credible professional'. Drawing on data and analysis, I suggested these qualities are predicated on 'mobile transnational [white, middle-classed] masculinities (Connell, 2000) [that] imposes expectations that only a 'care-less worker can fully satisfy' (Grummell, et al., 2009, p.192).

The social work lecturer informant's narratives expressed contradictory responses to the dominant constructions of the ideological code of the 'good social work lecturer'. On the one hand, the informant worked to perform and evidence some of the metrics and qualities defined by the RU and the AASW as excellence and professionalism. This confirms Smith's (1993, p.50) observations that ideological codes can exert a 'significant political effect by importing representational order even into the texts of those who are overtly opposed to the representations they generate'. However, the informant was not unaware of the nature of this compliance.

The informant referred to how not being a 'good social work lecturer' was demoralising. An example was where work activated by AASW re-accreditations in evidencing compliance with some of the AASW (2012) ASWEAS regulations conflicted with her own values regarding the social justice of social work education. The informant's sense of being disheartened related to the degree of her complicity, subjugation and subordination to the imposed norms required in re-accreditation processes. This has been recognised by other scholars such as Shore and Wright (1999, p.570 as cited by Ball, 2003,

pp.22-225) who state 'to be audited, an organization [or person] must actively transform itself [or themselves] into an auditable commodity'.

The 'good social work professor'

Building on chapters 3 and 5, the analysis of the social work professor informant in chapter 6 demonstrated how the 'good social work professor' was measured by degree of contribution to assisting RU to achieve the RU (PRU1) *Strategic Plan*. The data in this chapter revealed a complex interaction between forms of valued masculinity amongst texts and narratives. I argued that there is a dominance in the texts of RU where the ideological code of the 'good social work professor' emphasises 'enterprise masculinity' and 'managerial masculinity' that is 'courageous, approachable, motivating, polished and slick' yet 'compliant in corporate loyalty'. This newer form of masculinity had not replaced, but rather incorporated aspects of the more traditional forms of 'academic masculinity' such as 'rationality, objectivity and efficiency'.

The research illustrated how reporting templates were activated by the social work lecturer and professor informants in their contributions to production of course reviews and reporting on ERA metrics and AASW re-accreditations. These are the textual technologies through which the ruling relations of national government and international bodies as embedded in policies and reports regarding higher education and social work organise local practices.

The 'good social worker'

In chapter 7, the data revealed the AASW as choosing to market itself to organisations they seek to influence by establishing and presenting a 'highly credible voice' (AASW, 2015a, p. 1). Part of this credibility was achieved through alignment with the neoliberal discourse and policy invitations and directions from the OECD and Australian Federal Government that frame the current purpose of education as the 'production of human capital for the global market' (Rinne, et al., 2004, p.456). In this neoliberal economic discourse, education is aligned more closely with industry who are afforded priority stakeholder status to influence the specification of graduate attributes. The alignment of the university and the AASW with

this discourse is also shown in both organisations stating they value or seek high rankings on metrics such as high graduate employability. The active engagement of the AASW with this neoliberal discourse was illustrated by their development of graduate attributes within the AASW (2012, pp.10-13) ASWEAS. This was also evident in the framing of the purpose of the AASW 2016 Review of ASWEAS as to 'ensure these standards [AASW educational standards] reflect best practice and adequately prepare graduates for entry to the workforce' (AASW, 2015a p.3).

Drawing on the literature, I identified that graduate attributes emphasise a reductionist role of education focusing on employability. The entrenchment of graduate attributes and graduate outcomes as metrics of success by RU and the AASW requires work from social work academics and others to evidence compliance in audits and accreditations. Time and attention to this work at all levels in the university erodes educational spaces for validating the worth of education for its own sake, or education for social justice, human flourishing, social good and citizenship. The focus on graduate attributes responds to the expectations of employers in their development, and emphasis is placed on graduates being 'more compliant and attractive to the corporate world' (Bozalek, 2013, p.71). This is of concern for social work where the ethical requirement to redress injustice may not always be consistent with compliance with organisational directions or norms. The AASW, however, draws on a constructed neoliberal credibility to increase membership, develop and market a 'national trademark' and align with health-related organisations, such as the Board of the National Alliance for Self-Regulating Health Professions, aiming to increase professional status and achieve registration. The pro-active approach of the AASW in developing graduate attributes for social work students, and then regulating the compliance of social work courses with the teaching of these, is not matched by consideration of what resources are required for diverse students and courses to achieve them. This collusion with the market that focuses on curriculum alignment and employer needs, rather than on student needs, is based on the inbuilt assumptions of graduate attributes, and those that promote them, of the student being middle-classed and 'adequately prepared and enculturated into higher education expectations, with good economic opportunities' (Bozalek, 2013, p.72). This is not representative of the current diversity of student cohorts, especially of social work courses at regional and non-elite universities (for example, Hosken, , et al., 2013; Testa

& Egan, 2013; Koshy, 2014). A desktop analysis of the publicly available submissions (AASW 2016d) to the AASW (2016) *ASWEAS 2016 Review* suggested an alignment between the more elite, traditional universities protectionist endorsement of campus attendance requirements and non-elite, newer, especially regional universities questioning of the social justice and equity implications of compulsory attendance for social work students. In the next section, the power of the AASW as it is aligned with 'neoliberal social work' (Schram & Silverman, 2011, p.2) to affect the core values of social work and social workers, even the majority of social workers who are not members, is discussed.

QUESTS FOR CREDIBILITY THAT INSTRUMENTALISE SOCIAL JUSTICE

There have been significant changes in institutional contexts as Australia transitions from the welfare state to the workfare state (McDonald, 2006a), including reduction of the public provision of education and welfare. This thesis documents that RU and the AASW have used a similar approach in the face of this challenge. This includes the adoption of policies, quality assurance and accreditation regimes, and practices by the RU and the AASW that align with the neoliberal economic and cultural framing of education and social work. Both organisations spend significant resources and work to develop and display markers of credibility recognisable to those other organisations they seek funding from, are regulated by, or seek to influence. The dangers in using this alignment approach are that it instrumentalises social work, social work education and social justice. The uncritical stance, while initially helping RU and the AASW to survive and to exert some influence with higher-level stakeholders, has been shown in this study to relegate those who are not white-Euro, middle-classed, able-bodied, care-less social work students, social work lecturers, social work professors and social workers to the margins. The pragmatic and instrumental approach also limits the responsiveness of senior management of the RU and the AASW to evidence of any injustices caused by their policy and regulatory regimes. The power to contribute to injustice takes concrete form in how RU and AASW texts including policies, regulations, strategic plans, funding allocations, codes of ethics, practice standards, accreditation and quality assurance requirements, organise the practice of social work students, social work academics and social workers in human service organisations that provide placements. In the process, both organisations are also made vulnerable to greater

levels of co-optation than they might necessarily choose, and correspondingly reduce their credibility to leverage change for social justice or the public good.

Documentation and analysis in Chapter 7 revealed that key AASW texts, including the AASW (2012) *ASWEAS* and the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics*, regulate and coordinate the work of social work educators, social work students and social work field educators. These texts, although appearing benign and aimed at being helpful, perpetuate organisational and institutional processes that are exclusionary. These texts embed ideological codes that in promoting a racially, gendered and classed neutral 'good social worker', masked the fact this is actually a white-Euro Australian, non-caring, middle-class figuration. Institutional discourses are the shared and standardised frameworks that design and organise the 'categories, concepts and frames' (Smith, 2005, p.118) into texts that coordinate and regulate the work of people in that institution so they are accountable to those categories, concepts and frames. The analysis in this chapter demonstrated that the key texts that organised the work of students, lecturers and social workers were imbued with institutional discourses of corporate-business, professionalism, credibility, competency, self-management, and individualism. Applying Webb's (2017) and Olson's (2007) analysis of the tensions between the professional project and the social justice project of social work, as discussed in Chapter 2, revealed how the 'professionalism' discourse that underpins the 'professional project' (Olson, 2007) is embedded in AASW texts to manage and discipline social work students, social work academics and social workers. This disciplining was achieved through encouragement and regulation of the development of self-images, professional identities (Webb, 2017), as encapsulated in the AASW (2012, pp.10-13) *Graduate Attributes*, that are more congruent with the dominant discourses of the 'professional project' (Olson, 2007). This main alignment with the 'professional project' eclipses the social justice project of equity, equality of opportunity and outcome, and of decolonising Australian social work education and practice (Briskman, 2007; Green & Baldry, 2008; Baltra-Ulloa, 2014).

Analysis of the data in Chapter 7 demonstrated how the textual regulation of social work reflects, creates and perpetuates 'neoliberal social work' (Schram & Silverman, 2011, p.2). Schram & Silverman (2011, p.2) argue social justice oriented social work has been replaced by 'neoliberal social work' which is underpinned by a business model that accepts

the role of focusing solely on the short-term to discipline clients to change their behaviour to fit into the existing society, rather than working to restructure society. The introduction and regulation of graduate attributes by the AASW (2012) and Graduate Learning outcomes by RU (PRU14) combine with the influence accorded to employers as a priority stakeholder, to 'vocationalise' the curriculum to maximise the employability of graduates (Hanesworth, 2017, p.50). In the face of increasing student loan debt, students also seek more practical vocationally oriented courses that will maximise their employment outcomes (Crowe & Hare, 2017). Employers (human service organisations) seek graduates and employees that are job-ready. Being job-ready in the contemporary workfare state that operationalises neoliberalism through NPM involves employees, students and graduates having the right attitude and skills to help teams and organisations achieve the quantitative targets contained in funding agreements. These targets are best attained through evidence based practice (EBP) focused interventions that highlight enhancing the self-management of service users rather than changing the systems that create the need for the interventions.

Ideological discourses are meta-discourses that operate at a higher level to control institutional and other discourses. The analysis in this chapter developed from Chapter 5, to demonstrate how the AASW responded to the funding, resource and regulatory power of higher level national organisations such as the Board of the National Alliance for Self-Regulating Health Profession and the Australian Federal Government, and international organisations such as the IFSW, IASSW, and the ICSW who in turn seek to influence higher level international organisations including the United Nations and key global bodies such as the OECD, ECOSOC, UNICEF, WHO, UNHCR and OHCHR. These bodies are creators and reflectors of ideological discourses of neoliberalism, white supremacy and patriarchy across teams, disciplines and as layered across time.

The documentation in this thesis demonstrates those leading RU and the AASW have engaged with the neoliberal business discourse that dominates organisations they perceive organisational reliance on for funding or favour. Analysis of strategic plans and other key texts, documented the leadership of RU and AASW as identifying with, or accepting that, business thinking and practice are useful or necessary 'expertise as a resource in a struggle for power' (Harris, 2003, p.5) and, or how things must be if the organisations 'are to survive

in the future' (Rowlands, 2016, p.143). For social work, this locates the AASW's current orientation as being within the 'neoliberal-managerialist framework [social work as a business aimed at empowering individuals to foster their own well-being]' within the synthesis of four key predominant western paradigms of social work (Ornellas, Spolander & Engelrecht, 2016) as discussed in Chapter 2. This assessment is supported by Mendes (2015, p.13) who concludes from his analysis of the social policy context of 20 of the 21 Norma Parker Addresses delivered by AASW National Presidents from 1969 to 2012 that 'the post-1985 Addresses suggest that the AASW campaigns for professional recognition left little time and resources for social activism. Most of these Addresses devoted substantial space to the development of professional identity and standards'. The orientation of the AASW as an organisation towards the professional project appears to be, therefore, at odds with the sort of social justice it proclaims commitment to, and regulates. Ife (2012, p.283) identified the importance for professional social work associations to 'reflect human rights principles in its own structures and practices. This requires it to pay attention to issues of inclusivity and to guard against practices that exclude certain people from becoming social workers'.

Data in this research suggests that the AASW does not embody and demonstrate in its own organisational practice the social justice and human rights values and principles it requires and regulates of social work educators, social work students and social work graduates. McDonald (2006a) sought to generate greater social work engagement in critical understanding of the contemporary 'workfare state' institutional context in which social work is located. The predominant alignment of the professional project of the AASW with the neoliberal managerialist framework, as shown in this study, does not appear to reflect the direction she was indicating. The nature and possibility of acting with agency within organisational and institutional contexts imbued with neoliberal, colonial, whiteness and patriarchal ideologies and practices is discussed in the following section.

INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANISATIONAL AGENCY

The accounts of agency from the three informants, demonstrated different behaviours or actions that are agentic. The white-Euro Australian lecturer and professor informants' use of agency in actions included advocacy, speaking directly about issues, use of discretion,

involvement in the union and strike action, writing submissions, and creating alliances. This is more recognisable within western social work literature, particularly in critical social work.

The use of silence, however, is not traditionally recognised as agency or a method of protest in western social work literature. The South Sudanese Australian student informant's purposeful use of silence and non-enactment of advice and parts of the AASW (2010) *Code of Ethics* was in reference to her wanting to maintain her cultural values and practices, despite pressure activated by RU and the AASW texts to discount them. In this context, this demonstration of agency can be recognised as a powerful mechanism of survival, cultural continuance and of protest.

I consider that each action or expression of agency exercised by informants is important. On many days, I agree with Greg Marston and Catherine McDonald (2012, p.1036) who write:

In the face of evidence of growing social inequality, social workers undoubtedly need individual hope to inspire collective action. What might seem to be unrealistic hope can begin in considering the possibility that tiny cracks might yet break open the dam and contingent openings are sites of unexpected force—for better or for worse (Tsing, 2004). But, given the unpredictable nature of these encounters of friction, we can also embrace the liberating thought that social workers are not acting alone as heroic agents. There is no certainty that anyone's actions, acting individually or collectively, will be the factor that breaks the dam wall.

The agency of the informants in this study occurred within the 'tiny cracks' as described above by Marston and McDonald (2012). Despite significant dissatisfaction expressed by informants regarding RU and AASW organisational policies, their agentic actions did not change these policies, but rather at times appropriated or circumvented them. The agency of informants was inspired by their loyalties to their perceived membership of discriminated against groups, and aimed to nurture or protect the efforts, possibilities and sustainability of these groups of people. This sort of agency regarding opportunities to control or change things might be understood as 'agency within structure' (Orton, 2009, p.496) as 'generally, constrained or enabled within people or groups' positions in the relations of structural

inequality. These actions did not 'break the dam wall' of social injustice in social work education. However, it is likely there are more agentic actions happening each day, many that are currently invisible or unrecognisable to each other.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I am writing this section of the thesis in June 2017, almost six years from when I first commenced the research project. The reflective work of Canadian institutional ethnographic scholar and activist, Naomi Nichols (2016) on the limitations of her own studies, serves as a guide in this section to frame my reflection back on this research project. It is from this positioning of hindsight, that I identify key qualifications and limitations of this research project, and suggest possibilities for future research.

There are several qualifications in this final analysis that are not necessarily evident from the voices of the informants or highlighted in the initial presentation of the findings. The researcher's purpose in institutional ethnography is not to generalise about the people's experiences from where the research starts, but rather to locate and describe social processes that have standardising and generalising effects. Through joining descriptive ethnographic accounts of people's everyday work with a critical analysis of the social, organisational and institutional relations that give shape to those embodied experiences, institutional ethnography aims to make relations or ruling visible and, therefore, more open to critique and reform (Nichols, 2016).

I find, as this research project concludes, the aim of using knowledge from this institutional ethnographic study to create change or reform is difficult to translate into action. As I consider the following questions adapted from Nichols (2016), I find no easy answers. How will I use this research to work with others to change the unjust policies, discourses and practices within, and around, social work education that have been uncovered? How can this study become activist scholarship that moves knowledge into pragmatic actions or reforms? Are there other bodies/organisations/groups that may be better positioned than myself to use the knowledge from this research to advocate for specific policy and practice changes in Australian social work education? Given that the researcher, and those researched, are not outside or above the coordinating effects of the

organisational and institutional relations being described, what is that capacity for agentic action? Struggling with these questions has provided focus for considering what I do once I finalise the thesis, in terms of using the knowledge produced. I will seek to make contact with groups that have an existing mandate to advocate for change in Australian social welfare, and in Australian social work education, and to work with others to create groups to do this.

The three informants in this study have learned about the relations of ruling of Australian social work education, and their implications in this. However, the other two informants do not seek the responsibility to work for change. In retrospect, it may have been useful to include more informants in this current study so that we could have formed a larger critical group of informants to act as a group, after completion of the research, to lobby for change. It may have been useful and strategic to include informants from the leadership levels of RU and the AASW to help ensure the 'knowledge generated might have a receptive audience and/or landscape for application' (Nichols, 2016, p.16). I am not sure, though, if this would have entailed reframing the analyses in this current study to be more palatable, to diminish any potential defensive resistance on the parts of those whose work may provide greater contributions, at these higher levels, to relations of injustice. It may be better, therefore, that researching from the standpoints of the leadership levels of the RU and the AASW forms a later and separate study that is able to build on the current study.

As identified in chapter 7, an important area for future research is exploring how much choice or agency the leadership of organisations like the RU and the AASW have to resist or challenge the social and ruling relations of injustice and inequality. This research did not include informants from the highest levels of leadership of the AASW or RU. These people exercise various forms of power in determining aspects of texts of the ruling relations, such as strategic plans, budget allocations, operational plans, appointments of senior staff, approval of policies such as workloads, curriculum, performance reviews, performance metrics and re-accreditation. Understanding of the relations of ruling of Australian social work education would be enhanced and deepened by tracing organising texts from the contrasting social locations and standpoints of the work of the leadership groups of RU and the AASW. This could complement and build from the current study.

Institutional ethnographies can fit together as they share the same organising ontology and the same focus on generalising processes of ruling (DeVault, 2006, p.18).

Moreover, RU and the AASW are only one part of the much broader consideration of the ruling relations that are part of the inter-related national and global political, economic, social, financial, legal and governance systems. There was evidence that many of the policies of RU and the AASW reflected higher order policies from national and global organisations and institutions. Although many threads of the connections between local and translocal organisations were documented, it was beyond the scope of this research to explore in more detail the larger questions of constraints, control and power of ruling relations.

CONCLUSION

The chapter, and the thesis, ends with a brief discussion of my use of institutional ethnography to make the organisation of injustice visible. This five-year study of Australian social work education in the public university setting draws on and develops Dorothy E. Smith's (2005) feminist sociological method of institutional ethnography. This enabled understanding how the everyday work of social work students and academics in the Australian context are shaped within organisational, institutional and larger translocal relations and processes such as neoliberalism, colonialism, patriarchies and whiteness. The thesis is based on qualitative empirical research. The location and analysis of the study included two key related organisations, public universities and the professional association representing social work, the AASW. The data, consisted of interviews, a research journal and texts were the result of five-years of fieldwork. Drawing on these sources, the thesis explored how social injustice occurred through systems of privilege and oppression. These systems were inter-connected by layering's of discourses, ideologies, texts and ruling relations, mediated through standardised notions of quality assurance and accreditation practices to produce the ideological code, the standardised ideal image, of the 'good social work student', the 'good social work lecturer', the 'good social work professor' and the 'good social worker'. The thesis revealed the racialised, gendered and classed social organisation of social justice, equity and diversity, professionalism, excellence, competition and merit as constructed around university intentions of becoming world-class, and AASW goals of being a credible profession. The thesis highlighted how the ability to activate or

approximate the ideological codes relies on doing race, class and gender. It showed how doing particular forms and constellations of white-Euro, middle-classed, professional, transnational, enterprise, corporate masculinity entered the social relations of doing the work of a social work student or social work academic in Australia.

Analysis of informant narratives located the texts that organised their work to reveal the presence of the ideological codes. The 'good social work student' was revealed as being a middle-classed, able-bodied, care-less, white-Euro Australian. The 'good social work lecturer' and the 'good social work professor' is a middle-classed, able-bodied, care-less-entrepreneurial, technologically slick, compliant, corporate-male, white-Euro Australian. The ideological code of the 'good social worker' was revealed as being a member of the AASW, supportive of the current emphasis in the AASW (2014b) *Strategic Plan 2014-17* to advance the 'professional project' of social work for registration and increased professional status, and of AASW regulatory policies.

A key form of social injustice relevant to social work education revealed in the study was epistemic injustice. The data revealed the adverse impact on the social work student informant of the predominately white-Euro settler centric curriculum, pedagogy and episteme of the social work course, and the 'white institutional presence' (Gusa, 2010) of RU, and of the AASW. Definitions provided by Miranda Fricker (2007, p.1) illuminated the experiences of the student informant as constituting epistemic injustice, which is 'a wrong done to someone in their capacity as a knower'. The informant's experience of shame were consistent with Fricker's (2007, p.1) first identified form of epistemic injustice, testimonial injustice, occurring when '...prejudices cause a hearer to give a deflated level of credibility to a speaker's word'. The student informant's negative experiences of the whiteness of the explicit and 'implicit curriculum' (Bogo & Wayne, 2013) reflect Fricker's (2007, p.1) second type of epistemic injustice, hermeneutical injustice, which 'occurs at a prior stage, when a gap in collective interpretive resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences'. Both testimonial injustice and hermeneutical injustice are said to share a similar origin in 'identity prejudices' and cause a shared harm of 'prejudicial exclusion from the participation in the spread of knowledge' (Fricker, 2007, p.4). The student informant narratives also indicated the presence of

‘epistemic violence’ involving the silencing of marginalised groups through the ‘epistemic violence of imperialist law and education’ (Spivack, 1994, p.78). Practice implications to reduce epistemic injustice were suggested in the relevant chapters as derived from the data. It is a matter of social justice that social work educators and the AASW learn to recognise, locate and challenge epistemic injustice.

Analysis of the texts identified in the narratives revealed sometimes conflicting organisational discourses of self-control, self-management, individualism, organisational survival, competition, corporate compliance, corporate loyalty, flexibility, innovation, entrepreneurship, excellence, world class, tech-slick, change, professionalism and competence. These organisational and institutional discourses were imbued with ideological discourses of colonialism, imperialism, whiteness, neoliberalism and enterprise masculinity. These discourses are perhaps captured by bell hook’s (2004, p.39) descriptor, with the addition of a pre-adjective ‘hyper’ and insertion of ‘technologist’ as indicated- ‘[hyper], imperialist white-supremacist [technologist] capitalist patriarchy’.

Through the use of institutional ethnographic inquiry, this research has demonstrated that professional Australian social work education involves two organisations who have become increasingly coordinated and aligned ideologically and practically. This alignment is achieved via funding and regulatory textual frameworks to national government economic objectives, shaped within international economic agendas, in the pursuit of neoliberal, colonial economic governance. The success of the globalisation of neoliberalism has been attributed, in part, due to the capacity of its engineers to disguise its ideological underpinnings. The core values and beliefs of neoliberal ideology are not usually foregrounded by those who work to ‘re-engineer the world’ (Hellyer, 1999 in Norberg-Hodge, 2015, p.3). Rather, those who promote neoliberalism and its practices such as the leaders of huge corporations, media conglomerates, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the OECD, present globalisation involving the dominance of the economic over the social as an inevitable and necessary (Davies & Petersen, 2005; World Bank, 2013) set of technical practices and processes to ensure the individual, organisational, institutional, national and global survival of humans (Norberg-Hodge, 2016).

The social relations and practices of injustice documented in this thesis reflect the RU and the AASW responding to the broader organising inequalities including relations of race, gender and class of the larger societal, national and global relations in which they are situated. The values and practices and social relations of hyper, technologist 'imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy' (hooks, 2004, p.39) permeate the RU and the AASW to embed and activate injustice. This raises the issue of how much choice the leadership of organisations like the RU and the AASW have, to resist or challenge the social and ruling relations of injustice and inequality, an important area for further research. This thesis has demonstrated the consequences of the current alignment of the AASW and RU with the neoliberal discourse, in marketing themselves to organisations they seek to influence by establishing and presenting a 'highly credible voice'. The alignment of the AASW and RU with neoliberalism has been shown in this study to increase injustice and prevent effective work for social justice and the public good.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT

TO:

Plain Language Statement

Date: March 26, 2013

Full Project Title: Searching for Recognition and Social Justice in Tertiary Education

Principal Researcher(s): Prof. Bob Pease, RU

Associate Researcher(s): Ms. Norah Hosken, RU

Second Supervisor:

This Plain Language Statement and Consent Form is 6 pages long. Please make sure you have all the pages.

1. Your Consent

You are invited to take part in this research project.

This Plain Language Statement contains detailed information about the research project. Its purpose is to explain to you as openly and clearly as possible all the processes involved in this project so that you can make a fully informed decision whether, and how, you are going to participate.

Please read this Plain Language Statement carefully. Feel free to ask questions about any information in the document. You may also wish to discuss the project with a relative, friend or colleague. Please feel free to do this.

Once you understand what the project is about and have had a chance to ask enough questions to your satisfaction, you can agree to take part in it. By signing the Consent Form, you indicate that you understand the information and that you give your consent to participate in the research project. You are able to withdraw your consent at any stage of the project prior to the publication of the thesis/ report/article. At regular times in the research project you will be reminded of your right to withdraw your consent and participation.

You will be given a copy of the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep as a record.

2. Purpose and Background

One of the primary purposes of this project is to collect detailed information about your educational experiences and those of the other main researcher/participants, as they relate to university work and education. In particular, information about the impact of gender, class and race/ethnicity as aspects of subjectivity that have shaped educational experiences will be sought.

3. Funding

This research is not funded, but has support from the Faculty of RU.

4. Processes

Participation in this project will involve you and I in a series of ethnographic conversations in which I will ask you to discuss your experiences as they relate to education and in particular the impact of gender, class and race/ethnicity as aspects of subjectivity that have affected educational experiences. This would involve the following sort of time commitments.

- Approx. 5 x 1-hour interview conversations.
- 2 x 1-hour ethnographic reflection sessions with the other two main participants.
- Time for you to review the narratives to be placed in the thesis or other publications.

These conversations would be recorded and then I would type up a written record, a transcript that would be stored on the computer to provide a usable record that can then be

analysed for the project purposes. You will be provided with the transcript of our ethnographic research conversations, for confirmation and/or deletion of information you choose not to have included in the analysis. You and I, and the other participants, will develop and sign a confidentiality agreement where any information shared and discussed in the course of ethnographic and research project team conversations would not be available to be discussed or shared outside the participant group except in ways agreed to by that group.

5. Possible Benefits

The findings of this research will be developed into conference papers, articles and narratives about education and institutional change that will contribute to understanding how social justice and equity can be achieved in social work education. In particular, it is intended that the research will contribute to the development of policies and practices aimed at a reduction in discrimination in education for women for whom English is an Additional Language/culture, and people from working-class backgrounds.

6. Possible Risks

There are possible risks, side effects and discomforts that the research team is aware of, and has put strategies in place to minimise, that may be involved in participating in the research project. This is not to say these risks or events will happen, just that they could be possible. There may also be other risks that we have not been able to identify or foresee.

The possible risks include: a potential change in the existing relationship with the lead researcher, Norah Hosken; a financial and time impact; loss of anonymity; and emotional distress. The strategies that will be put in place to manage and minimise these risks are:

1. Being clear that Norah Hosken values you as a person, and her friendship/collegial relationship with you, more than the research project. For this reason, please feel free to revise any aspect of your involvement in this project as it proceeds, and to discuss any issues about your involvement with friends or colleagues. You will be supported in your right to withdraw from, or change the nature of your involvement in, the research project at any

time up until publication. If you choose to change involvement or withdraw this will not impact on the collegial/friendship relationship you currently have with Norah Hosken.

2. Financial and time impact.

It is not possible to pay for participation, and it is not possible for full compensation for your time to be provided. There will be careful consideration of the minimum number of ethnographic conversation meetings and research team meetings necessary to reduce the time lost impact of participation on you. There will also be a flexible negotiated approach to location, day and time of proposed meetings for your participation.

3. Loss of Anonymity.

You and the other two key proposed participants comprise a small population in a regional, and University work, area that may be easily identifiable. The purpose of the research is to collaboratively construct the ethical framework to underpin the research that includes an exploration of types of shared decision making regarding the research questions, methods, analysis, write up and publications. You and the other participants would be able to identify any matters that were not suitable to be discussed and/or published in these sorts of forums for the purpose of the research project. You, the other participants and I would develop and sign a confidentiality agreement where any information shared and discussed in the course of ethnographic and project team conversations would not be available to be discussed or shared outside the participant group except in ways agreed to by that group. All participants will also be reminded that they can withdraw their consent even after completion of the data collection procedure, but prior to publications, if they wish to do so.

4. Emotional distress

It is intended that the ability participants will have to shape the development and decisions regarding topics/guiding questions to be addressed in the ethnographic conversation interviews will reduce the experience of unknown or unintended emotional distress.

However, as people are not able to predict or foresee all possible consequences of their decisions, or of how the actual process and 'doing' of the involvement and discussion might affect them, options for stopping or changing the nature of your involvement, and/or for counselling, will be offered to all participants. If you feel uncomfortable, upset or some

other feeling, when engaged in research discussions, you may withdraw from participating in all or part of the project participant conversation interviews at any time. If you choose to withdraw from being a participant in the study, there are no consequences for you in terms of your relationship to the researcher.

In the event that you experience any unwanted discomfort or other unwanted reactions during research interview conversations, the conversation can cease immediately and, if you choose, you can be offered counselling services independent to the research team at no charge to you. Participants can be directed to counselling services offered by the university.

You are able to suspend or end your participation in this study at any time if distress occurs that you do not want. You will also be reminded that you can withdraw your consent even after completion of the data collection procedure, but prior to publications, if you wish to do so.

7. Privacy, Confidentiality and Disclosure of Information

Information obtained during the research will be stored in secured computer files. Audio or digital recordings and transcripts of research conversations will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the office of the lead investigator (Norah Hosken), until they are transferred to computer. The data will be stored in the Faculty of X – Research Division, RU, long term. The data storage period is 6 years after publication, after which time it will be destroyed.

Any information obtained in connection with this project and that can identify you will remain confidential. It will only be disclosed with your permission, subject to legal requirements, and only when you give us your permission by signing the Consent Form.

8. Results of Project

You will be provided with a transcript, a written record, of your research conversations with Norah Hosken, for confirmation and/or deletion of information you choose not to have included in the analysis. A draft of any potential publications or presentations that might include your narrative, or analysis of your narrative, will be provided to you for approval prior to publication or presentation. You and I, and the other participant, will develop and

sign a confidentiality agreement where any information shared and discussed in the course of ethnographic and research project team conversations would not be available to be discussed or shared outside the participant group except in ways agreed to by that group.

9. Participation is Voluntary

Participation in any research project is voluntary. **If you do not wish to take part, you are not obliged to.** If you decide to take part and later change your mind, you are free to withdraw from the project at any stage until the final report is published. However, if you have agreed that your name, and/or parts of your narrative can be used in publications, reports or presentations prior to finalisation of the thesis; it would not be possible to have these withdrawn as they would already be in the public domain. After publication of the thesis report, it will not be possible to retrieve your data for removal.

10. Ethical Guidelines

This project will be carried out according to the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) produced by the National Health and Medical Research Council of Australia. This statement has been developed to protect the interests of people who agree to participate in human research studies.

The ethics aspects of this research project have been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of RU.

11. Complaints

If you have any complaints about any aspect of the project, the way it is being conducted or any questions about your rights as a research participant, then you may contact:

The Manager, Office of Research Integrity, RU.

12. Further Information, Queries or Any Problems

If you require further information, wish to withdraw or change the nature of, your participation, or if you have any problems concerning this project you can contact Norah Hosken or Dr X as one of the researchers responsible for this project.

APPENDIX 2: CONSENT FORM

TO:

Consent Form

Date: 20 March 2013

Full Project Title: Searching for Recognition and Social Justice in Tertiary Education

I have read and I understand the attached Plain Language Statement.

I freely agree to participate in this project according to the conditions in the Plain Language Statement.

I have been given a copy of the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep.

The researcher has agreed not to reveal my identity and personal details, including where information about this project is published, or presented in any public form, without my permission.

Participant's Name (printed)

Signature Date

This form can be returned to:

Ms Norah Hosken

RU

APPENDIX 3: REVOCATION OF CONSENT FORM

TO:

Revocation of Consent Form

(To be used for participants who wish to withdraw from the project)

Date: **27 March 2013**

Full Project Title: Searching for Recognition and Social Justice in Tertiary Education

I hereby wish to WITHDRAW my consent to participate in the above research project.

Participant's Name (printed)

Signature Date

This form can be returned to:

RU

APPENDIX 3: ETHICS APPROVAL

...

Memorandum

To: Prof. Bob Pease; cc Norah Hosken

From: RU Human Research Ethics Committee

Date: 20 July, 2011

Subject: Searching for Recognition and Social Justice in Tertiary Education: A Cross-Cultural Mutual Ethnography

The application for this project was considered at the RUHREC meeting held on 27/06/2011.

Approval has been given for Ms Norah Hosken, under the supervision of Prof Bob Pease, RU, to undertake this project from 20/07/2011 to 20/07/2015.

In addition, you will be required to report on the progress of your project at least once every year and at the conclusion of the project. Failure to report as required will result in suspension of your approval to proceed with the project.

RUHEC may need to audit this project as part of the requirements for monitoring set out in the National Statement On Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

The approval given by the RU Human Research Ethics Committee is given only for the project and for the period as stated in the approval. It is your responsibility to contact the human research ethics unit immediately should any of the following occur:

- serious or unexpected adverse effects on the participants
- any proposed changes in the protocol, including extensions of time.
- any events which might affect the continuing ethical acceptability of the project.
- the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
- modifications are requested by other HRECS.

...

APPENDIX 4: ETHICS APPROVAL AMENDMENT

...

Dear x and Norah

Re: Searching for Recognition and Social Justice in Tertiary Education: A Cross-Cultural Mutual Ethnography

Thank you for your amendments received on 4 October 2016, addressing the Committee's concerns regarding your proposed modifications to the above project.

The modifications relate to:

1. changes to the membership of the research team:
2. extension of time for data collection to 25 November 2016.

The above modifications have been considered and found to comply with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans (2007)*. They are therefore given approval and the project may proceed in accordance with the original approval granted.

...

It is your responsibility to advise the Committee of changes to the research team or changes to contact details.

...

APPENDIX 5: APPROVAL TO CHANGE TITLE OF THESIS

Dear Norah,

Your thesis title has been changed to:

Exploring the Organisation of Social Injustice in Australian Social Work Education

...

Regards,

Graduate Research Office,

APPENDIX 6: CODING LEGEND FOR ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES AND TEXTS

In this appendix I provide the colour coding system and legend that I used to aid analysis of all narratives and texts with an example from an excerpt from a narrative and then related text.

Coding legend for analysis of narratives and texts

Legend:

Documents and texts

Work of informants/others

Institutions, people, committees

Ideological codes, organisational and institutional discourses, meta-ideologies

Narrative 1: Audre - 'Students voiced their concerns about poverty'

1	...It has been such a tough year for the field placement team to secure all students
2	their placements, many students started later than desired. Agencies have been
3	more cautious about accepting students, and the students have been exposed to
4	organisational stresses associated with redundancies, programs closing and new
5	funding requirements. In classes, students voiced their concerns about their poverty
6	while having to complete unpaid placements, the lack of provision during placement
7	for leave and many other issues. I think some students understandably reacted to the
8	overall pressures and rated the placement unit, for which I am unit chair, poorly on
9	some parts of the university student feedback form. ...

Text 1: RU Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure

1	Evaluation of Teaching and Units Procedure...
6	...3. To obtain student feedback on teaching and learning within units using an
7	approved student survey, consistent with the University's commitment to continuous
8	quality improvement in teaching and learning.
9	Section 3 - Scope
10	6. The University will use a survey approved by the Academic Board to assess
11	students' satisfaction with their teaching and learning experiences and to assist in
12	determining any required actions as part of the continuous quality improvement of
13	teaching and units...

APPENDIX 7: GUIDING SET OF QUESTIONS

Research conversation interview questions.

Research context, voluntary participation and permission

I am investigating the ways that work of being a social work student, a social work lecturer and a social work professor is organised to happen in the ways that it does. In this study 'work' includes anything that takes time and effort to do your job as a student, lecturer or professor, not just the work that is formally or usually considered work as a student or counted by managers or allocated in workload plans. It would be helpful if you could read and answer the questions provided below.

Please just type your answers into this document after the questions. I will be following this up in face-to face discussions with you.

Participation in this project is voluntary. Please feel free to not answer some, or all, of the questions if you do not wish to. If you do choose to participate, you will be provided with the opportunity to amend, or withdraw, any information that you provide prior to the finalisation of the thesis, and prior to submission of any publications/reports that may arise from this. I have re-attached the initial plain language statement and consent form so that you may review the information if you wish.

Q1. Who are you? *[Please describe this very briefly in two lines, imagine you are replying in response to a friendly online question.]*

For the remainder of the responses to questions, there is no set word length. You may wish to take three to five paragraphs to answer questions, more or less as you feel appropriate.

Q2. How have your experiences of race, class and gender, separately, or in combination, affected the ways that you have learned to become a social work student, social work lecture, or social work professor? The affects may be positive or negative.

Q3. How has race, class and gender influenced your experiences of success, difficulty and your day-to-day work of being a social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor? Have one of more of the social dimensions of race, class and gender always, or sometimes, impacted you positively or negatively more than others? Can you describe any examples of this?

Q4. What influenced your decision to become a social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor? What does it mean to you to do this?

Q5.

(a) Who do you think the university sees as a good social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor? What is the image and description of this ideal social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor?

(b) How do you know this? Where/how did you learn what a good social work student, good social work lecturer or good social work professor is?

(c) Do you, or can you, fit this image of a good social work student, a good social work lecturer or a good social work professor? What are the similarities and differences between how you see yourself and this image?

Q6.

(a) Think about what the “work” is involved in being a social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor. How has this work been impacted by race, gender and/or class?

(b) How do you know what is expected of you as a social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor? How do you know what to do as social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor? What tells you how and when to do your work as you do it?

Q7. What are the key documents/ policies/texts/ emails/instructions that guide your work as a social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor?

Q8. Describe some of the challenges/stressors you encounter at the university or on placement. How does gender, class and race affect these challenges/stressors?

Q9. What are some of these enjoyment/benefits of the work you do as a social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor? How does gender, class and race affect these enjoyments/benefits?

10. Is there anything else you would like to share that you think can assist understanding how race, class and gender have affected your experience of being a social work student, social work lecturer or social work professor?